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THE ROCHESTER STRIKE

CUTTERS DEMAND 8-HOUR DAY—CRIPPLES CLOTHING INDUSTRY.

The Prevalence of Contract Sweatshops And Its Effects on the Garment Workers—President Chambers and "The Short-Sighted Fools."

(Special to The People.)

Rochester, N. Y., Dec. 5.—This city is one of the largest clothing manufacturing cities in the country. There are about 28,000 wage slaves employed in the clothing industry. Out of this number a very large proportion are women. One Straus, a cutter, late of St. Louis, made the assertion that the women outnumbered the men five to one. There is also a great number of children employed. The centre of the town contains a street which is simply devoted to the immense warehouses and factories of this industry.

Most of the goods are made in small, cockroach shops, under the contract or sweatshop system. One may travel through certain sections of the city and not see the shops of the slave-drivers for the manufacturers; they are attached to the rear end of the houses. The idea is that perchance they were hit by a ton of brick and flattened out.

The interiors of these shops are, in most cases, beyond description. What with the crowding of the houses, their filthy surroundings and the stench and dust caused by the operations in the course of the manufacture of the garments, one may count himself lucky to be well out of it. Such are the "homes" of the poor tailors (excuse the liberty; they are no longer tailors, but garment workers.) Being no longer makers of the garment, but simply co-operators in its production, they are properly called garment workers, as witness the signs when help "hands" is needed: "Operators," "Finishers," "Basters," etc., "Wanted.")

The great strike of garment workers in the early 90's, and the defeat of the pure and simplers, disrupted the union.

The claim is made that this city is one of the poorest organized garment centres. The other centres, New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati and Buffalo, are said to be much more thoroughly organized.

The cutters (the aristocrats) enjoy the eight-hour day in most of the other cities, and the local cutters decided to get it for themselves, and, failing to gain it by simply asking for it, they went on strike for it, as the appended ultimatum shows:

"Clothing Cutters and Trimmers of Rochester, N. Y., L. U. No. 136, United Garment Workers of America, Wm. H. Schaeffer, Secretary, 53 Yale street,
Rochester, N. Y., Oct. 6, 1903.

"Gentlemen: At a meeting of the above-named organization, held on Monday, October 5, 1903, the following was unanimously adopted:

"That the Clothing Cutters and Trimmers in your employ agree that for the week commencing October 12, 1903, and for every week thereafter, forty-eight hours shall constitute a week's work.

"A reply from you agreeing with same is respectfully requested.

"In the event of your failing to comply with the above, we will understand that you do not agree with us in this matter; therefore I am instructed to inform you that the employes of the cutting and trimming departments of your firm will resume work only under those conditions.

"A reply will be expected not later than 12 o'clock m., Saturday, October 10, 1903. Very truly yours,
Wm. H. Schaeffer, Secretary.
"Dic. M. J. C."

The copy of the ultimatum was furnished your correspondent by President M. J. Chambers.

Here are a few reasons for the strike, as given by President Chambers to your correspondent:

"The eight-hour demand is just, because it is not an innovation.

"Manufacturers here should not have advantage over the others by working cutters nine hours per day.

"Manufacturers pay more in other cities for production of clothing, besides Rochester has the prestige for producing the best clothing.

"The demand, besides being made in justice to those who have granted the eight-hour day, is also made because of the introduction of labor-saving machinery. Labor-saving machinery is the product of labor, and we believe labor should reap some benefit as well as the capitalist.

"To give a man a chance to educate his children so that they may become good American citizens in the future, it is necessary that we should have a shorter workday, so as to increase the number of weeks worked during the year.

"In cities where eight-hour day has been tried the manufacturers argue that there is no diminution of output.

"Business is brisk in all clothing centres. All cutters can get work in New York."

We shall cite a few reasons, given by the same gentleman, for this strike, which already forced hundreds, nay in all probability thousands, of tailors out of work, and forced 1,800 to apply to the Department of Charities for assistance. Of course, they were "short-sighted fools," as the president of the cutters termed them, i. e., tailors.

Among the reasons he gave the following:

"Our resources are unlimited; we have the U. G. W. of A. behind us, and, besides that, we have the entire A. F. of L. behind us. The fight is on indefinitely!

"All union men are compelled to give preference to union goods, and are also forbidden to patronize firms on the unfair list.

"We have the sympathy of outside workers, who believe in the principle, and practice it, even though not members."

Dame Rumor has it that the cutters are forcing the small fellows, who run one-horse custom shops, against the wall by taking their trade away from them by cutting prices. A number of these fellows are scabbing, and justify themselves by the actions of the cutters. Again, the manufacturers are developing cutters steadily, and in case of defeat, it means a big drop in cutters' wages, because of their competition. If they win, it is at the expense of the poor tailors. The eight-hour day is no benefit to the worker, because he produces just as much in eight hours as in nine or ten hours. The shorter workday does not give the worker a larger share than before.

The hope of the working class lies in a clear comprehension of the class struggle, and the fighting of same to a finish along the lines laid out by the S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A.

Agitate, educate and organize! That must be our slogan. J. T. B. G.

VINDICATES ROCKEFELLER.

Condemns Capitalism—Espionage Essential to Its Success.

One of the Pittsburg newspapers which is known to have strong affiliations with the Rockellers says of Miss Tarbell's latest article in McClure's Magazine:

"The initial chapter of Part II. of Miss Tarbell's History is nothing but an extraordinary jumble of dates and incidents and the entire material was gathered from business opponents and professed enemies of the Standard Oil Company. It is prejudiced, one-sided and venomous. Her implied purpose is to impeach the honor and personal integrity of John D. Rockefeller and to besmirch the possessors of Standard Oil millions. She describes Rockefeller as the Machiavelli of the industrial world, possessed of a diabolical ingenuity. Her portrait of him is a coarse caricature of an old man tottering on the brink of the grave, a picture that is a perversion of fact.

"As to the charge of espionage, the Standard Oil Company is simply on a par with all commercial enterprises. It is impossible to carry on a business successfully nowadays without learning the weak and the strong points of rivals.

"Our entire consular agency system for gaining information for the benefit of our manufacturers and producers is built upon this principle. This part of the history seems highly creditable to the Standard Oil Company.

It was only through consolidation and concentration that the oil business was placed on the footing that it holds today. It has passed unharmed through the tests of time and through panic after panic. It has created outlets for our surplus oil and American oil, as an illuminant, renowned in the markets of the world. It has brought stability to the oil industry and prosperity to the oil country."

SUICIDES.

A statistician connected with one of the industrial insurance companies in the United States shows in an article in the London Spectator that suicide in this country is increasing. In 1890 there were twelve suicides to every 100,000 of the population; in 1902, seventeen.

For the period 1892-1901 the ten cities leading in the matter of suicide were as follows, with their rates:

St. Louis	25.7
Hoboken	24.6
Chicago	23.4
Oakland, Cal.	22.5
New York	21.2
Milwaukee	20.1
Cincinnati	18.5
Newark	17.9
Brooklyn	16.2
Boston	15.9

For 1902 the order was this:

Hoboken	35.7
Oakland	28.0
Minneapolis	25.6
Haverhill, Mass.	24.8
Chicago	23.7
St. Louis	23.5
Milwaukee	22.9
New York	21.0
Cincinnati	20.5
Newark	20.0

CONGRESSIONAL

Revelations in the Senate on Panama and the Canal—Old and New Panama Canal Company. Company's Purpose of Leading the Plan of Constructing a Canal Into a Blind Alley and Getting Money for That—$40,000,000 of Plunder and Bribery to Delay Uniting of Atlantic With Pacific—Chronology of Steps in Dark Affair That Culminated in International Disgrace

The overture of the debates soon to be opened in Congress on the conduct of the Administration in the matter of the "Republic of Panama," gives promise of revelations to be made on that dark affair that will stagger the mind—provided the subsidized press is not numerous enough to hush up the matter. The overture came off in the Senate on November 23 and 24 on the occasion of the adoption of a resolution establishing the personnel of the committees, and according to which Senator Morgan of Alabama was deposed from the chairmanship of the Committee on Interoceanic Canals and Senator Hanna was placed in command. As clearly as coming events cast their shadows before them, the overture, by the mass of evidence it threw up, makes clear that the Administration's conduct in the matter of the "Republic of Panama" is but the culminating point of a long series of scandals, that originated in the old De Lesseps Canal. In view thereof the revelations made in overture deserve close attention. It unfolds one of the most remarkable tales of capitalist intrigue and chicanery by means of which the successful plotters loot the treasuries of Governments, with the aid of their governmental accomplices.

Early in the eighties, the De Lesseps Panama Canal Company, now called the old company, was launched, essentially as the venture of French capitalists. The narrowness of the isthmus, where the cut was to be made, only 18 miles from sea to sea, presented the undertaking under favorable light, and the prospects of the gains were magnificent. The plan was a bona fide sea-level canal plan, and stock was sold readily. It did not take long for the company to discover that the shortness of the 18 miles distance was fatally made up by the nature of the soil. It was found to be treacherous, creeping clay beds between strata of rocks for half the depth, that slided into the cuts covering railroad tracks and trains of cars, while near the sea level it was an indurated material too hard for removal with picks and not tenacious enough to be blasted. except at heavy expense. For many yards above the bottom of the wells the material was found to contain sharks' teeth, and when submerged in water it would melt like sugar or salt. What with that and the capricious and uncontrollable overflowings of the Chagres River, the climate was found so deadly, and the enterprise so immeasurably more difficult than dreamed of, that the heart of the enterpreneurs sank within them, and they decided upon the desperate expedient of simply recouping their outlays. The canal plan was virtually abandoned.

It was in pursuit of this changed policy that the scandals of the early nineties broke out in France, involving Cabinet and other public officials, besides private reputations, and spread even to the United States. The De Lesseps Company was put in the receiver's hands, and thence originated the New Panama Company, so-called.

At the outset it must be noted that the term "canal" in the new company was purely a fiction; events in the United States gradually turned the fiction into a colossal fraud—this wise:

Among the assets—in fact, the only real assets of the old company was a controlling share in the stock of the Panama Railroad Company—a road that crossed the Isthmus. The earning power of the road paid a handsome dividend. The new company preserved its "canal" name merely as a buffer. It did nothing towards furthering the work proper. Some perfunctory work was done in removing some earth from the Culebra and Emperador cuts, but the canal from Bohio to the coast was allowed to fill up, until in many places it is almost obliterated. On the other hand, the company turned its full attention to improving the railroad, dredging for that purpose and at great cost a channel three miles long in the Bay of Panama, leading to a pier that cost $1,000,000 to accommodate the railroad traffic. The new Panama "Canal" Company became nothing but a Panama "Railroad" Company, whose prosperity increased to the point of a net profit of 29 per cent. in 1902 on its stock of $15,000,000, and, be it noted, WHOSE INTERESTS, OBVIOUSLY, WERE HOSTILE TO ANY AND ALL CANAL PROJECT TO UNITE THE ATLANTIC WITH THE PACIFIC. It was no longer a canal company, but an anti-canal company.

Thus stood matters when the agitation in the United States grew deeper and wider in favor of a canal. Oddly enough, at first blush, but interestingly luminous upon closer inquiry, the agitation proceeded from two opposing sources. It proceeded from the United States shipping interests, whom the Panama "Canal" Company, aided by the shipping appendage that it had equipped itself with, discriminated against; these shipping interests, of course, panted for a canal. And, strange as it may appear at this stage of the analysis of the revelations made in the Senate, the agitation for a canal proceeded from, whom?—from the Panama "Canal" Company itself! It agitated just because it wanted no canal, and as will later appear, because it had laid its pipes and felt secure in its plot to so control the result that, if a canal was decided on, none should be built, at least not in a generation or two, and that the only practical effect would be a golden shower for the stockholders of the Panama "Canal" Company. The Company agitated in the United States for a canal simply as a stock-jobbing operation to give value to what they knew was their worthless canal property, and also to turn the bona fide sentiment into a blind alley.

Old readers of The People will remember an article entitled "Are We to Have an American Reinach?"—the suicide Reinach being one of the capitalists involved in the scandals of the old Panama Canal Company. As was stated above, those scandals, though having their centre of gravity in France, extended to the United States. The leading men in the New Panama "Canal" Company being some of the disgraced personalities of the old Company, kept their American connections. With the aid of these the bogus part of the agitation for a canal was conducted in America. The best engineering authorities of the land pronounced against Panama as the route. They were too well informed on the physical nature of the problem presented by Panama. They favored the Nicaragua route. The first problem for the new Panama "Canal" Company was to create a public opinion against Nicaragua. If the Nicaragua route went through, their scheme fell through. The discussions in Congress were numerous and prolonged, but Nicaragua won out in the House. The Hepburn bill, the second of the set, passed. The Panama "Canal" Company was put to its mettle. It certainly "rose to the occasion."

It was not enough—when the prospects of the United States' undertaking a canal first began to gleam—for the new Panama "Canal" Company to join in the agitation in America. Something else had to be done simultaneously. The Panama "Canal" Company held its franchise on the Isthmus under a grant issued by Colombia to one Wyse. The period within which the canal was to be built had been extended under the Wyse grant more than once. The last term fixed was slowly drawing near its expiration. Of what earthly use to the Panama "Canal" Company would be a successful agitation in the United States for a canal across Panama, if the Company's grant expired? It would have nothing, not even the appearance of something to sell! The Panama "Canal" Company applied to Colombia for an extension of time under the Wyse grant—from 1904 to 1910. That would give time enough. Colombia refused. The Company thereupon instigated a revolution that lasted three years, cost Colombia 100,000 lives and wasted millions of property. The Company at least gained time. A result of the revolution was the present dictatorship of Marroquin, a friend. Having waded through blood up to that point, the Panama Canal Company resorted to corruption in the United States as a supplementary move. How successful the company was in this also the following chronological series of events will show:

1st. Five days after the passage of the second Hepburn bill in the House, the bill for a canal and favoring Nicaragua, the President of the Board of the Panama Canal Company telegraphed from Paris to his agent in Washington to offer to sell to the United States all the Company's canal rights and properties for $40,000,000.

2d. Six months later, on June 28, 1903, the Senate amends the Hepburn bill into what became the Spooner Law. This law authorized the President to purchase the Panama Canal provided that within a reasonable time Colombia accepted the conditions prescribed.

3d. The Hay-Herran treaty was drawn up between the U. S. Secretary of State and the Colombian Charge d'Affairs, limiting the time provided under the Spooner law to Sept. 22, 1903.

4th. The Colombian Government rejected the treaty. Thereby leaving nothing for the President to do in the premises under the Spooner Law but proceed to negotiate for the Nicaragua route.

5th. On Nov. 3 a junta in Panama declares the secession of the State from Colombia, and authorizes Banau-Varilla, a Frenchman and agent of the Panama Canal Company at Washington, to negotiate a treaty for a canal with the United States, and the Administration at Washington keeps the Colombian troops from entering Panama and squelching the uprising.

6th. Within two week a treaty is concluded between Mr. Hay and Banau-Varilla for a canal in Panama, which implies the purchase of the Panama Canal Company by the United States. There was no time to draw up the treaty in Spanish, too, and it was forwarded in English.

7th. The Panama junta urging "celerity," sign the treaty which they could only partly read, and the same is now steaming back to the United States on one of our battleships.

Some man or men in office may be fool or fools, led by the nose in this stupendous fraud; but others must be acting knowingly. The fraud means nothing less than the plunder of the Federal Treasury to the amount of $40,000,000 in payment to the Panama Canal Company for a thing that is worthless, and which can only delay the bona fide canal plan, and the fraud is perpetrated by the flagrant violation of law as set down in the Spooner Act.

The Panama Canal Company has managed to create a false public sentiment in favor of the Panama route; the indecency of the Administration in the episode of the "Panama Republic" has caused even some of the Company's subsidized papers in America to gag. They probably will be silenced—there is plenty of subsidizing money in $40,000,000. It is likely that the canal treaty with the "Republic of Panama" will be ratified—there are plenty of thousands to be taken for bribes out of $40,000,000 and have an abundance left. The net result is that shower of gold will immediately fall upon the Panama "Canal" Company's stockholders, quite a sprinkling upon the officials at Washington who have knowingly rendered the necessary service; and, last not least, the Company, henceforth to be named the Panama Railroad Company, will continue to rake in in peace the large dividends that will be drawn from its railroad shares. And it will long do so in peace, because it will have led the United States into the blind-alley of attempting a canal route which, if at all practicable, will not be practicable for a long time, incomparably longer than the Nicaragua route. The one time Panama "Canal" Company will have accomplished its purpose in full.

And that is the milk in the cocoa-nut of the Panama business.

SHOE-WORKERS REVOLT.

St. Louis Members of B. & S. W. U. Strike Against Tobin.

St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 6.—There is open revolt in this city against the Tobin clique in the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, and the men in a number of the largest factories have struck. The factories are advertising for shoe operatives to take the places of the strikers and the committee of the general board of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union sent to St. Louis on a peace mission is advertising in the papers printed in shoe manufacturing cities and towns that union men and women can honorably take positions in the factories affected by the strike. Collis Lovely, G. B. Robinson and C. J. McMorrow sign these appeals.

The trouble is, according to the strikers, that the manufacturers sought to force their employes, members of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union locals, which, however, were affiliated with the St. Louis Joint Council suspended by the national officers of the union, to send their dues to headquarters at Boston instead of paying to the suspended locals. This the members refused to do and the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union officials notified the manufacturers that the stamps would be demanded if this order was not enforced. An attempt to enforce the order resulted in trouble at every stamp factory in the city.

At the Johananansen Bros. Shoe Company's factory, No. 46, all of 500 came out and but very few "scabs" have been obtained there since. This firm makes women's shoes and is the only factory on that work in St. Louis that uses the stamp. The Hamilton-Brown Shoe Company, No. 4, which is managed by Horace W. Eaton, formerly of Lynn and an ex-national officers of the B. & S. W. U., organized a new local in the B. & S. W. U. after the strike, but the fighting unions of the joint council ordered the men out, and twenty-eight cutters left. This factory is headquarters for instructing strike breakers under the direction of Agent House. The Johanansen Bros.' factory is also engaged in this work.

At the Wertheimer-Swartz Shoe Company, No. 100, employing from 800 to 1,000 hands, not one remained in the factory. The John Meier Shoe Company, No. 105, employing 400 men, shut down because of the strike, and this firm notified the suspended joint council that if the local shoemakers could give a stamp guaranteeing that shoes in that factory were made under fair conditions, the B. & S. W. U. stamp would be surrendered immediately. At the La Prella Shoe Company, No. 284, employing 300, the strike called out all hands.

The other factories affected to a more or less extent by the trouble are the Henry Hoffman, No. 47; the St. Louis Waterproof Boot Factory, No. 3; Southern Shoe Manufacturing Company, No. 90; Gindea Shoe Company No. 120; L. B. Joslin, No. 179; Union Shoemaking Company, No. 200; Mound City Shoe Company, No. 210; George F. Dittmann Boot and Shoe Company, No. 299, all the stamp firms in the city and all making men's goods.

The strikers say in a statement: "We expect to win a complete victory here, as it seems the union is unable to furnish strike breakers, and but very few of the strikers returned when the B. & S. W. U. officers pleaded with them. From present prospects the stamp of the B. & S. W. U. in St. Louis will not be a guarantee of fair conditions any longer, and will soon cease to be a factor in the labor situation of the shoe trade here. The B. & S. W. U. general officers, through the agents sent on here, are trying to get help for these factories from the East, and are advertising extensively. If this fails the stamp of the grafters will soon disappear from St. Louis. The strike here is on in earnest. Shoeworkers keep away from here and so assist the 'rebels,' as Tobin calls us. We expected that settlement could be made at the annual convention of the Federation of Labor at Boston, but Agent Lawrence was not successful, and on his return the strike was begun. There promises to be interesting developments at the B. & S. W. U. convention at Cincinnati, January 11, when St. Louis is heard from, and her men explain the true inner workings of this organization."

TURN ABOUT.

Social Democrats in Reichstag Nominate Candidate for Vice-President.

Berlin, Dec. 3.—Chancellor von Bulow, as the Emperor's representative, opened the Reichstag in the White Hall of the palace to-day, reading the Kaiser's message. The assemblage was smaller than on the last occasion, twenty-five of the Loyalists having been turned out by the Social Democrats, not one of whom ever attends the opening of the Reichstag, which is essentially a court function, all the members present wearing a royal order.

After luncheon the members reassembled in the Reichstag for the preliminaries of organization. All the Social Democrats were then present.

The election of a president of the Reichstag and the other officers will occur to-morrow. The Social Democrats, to the astonishment of the other parties, nominated Herr Singer for first vice-president, thus confirming the "Vorwaert's" statement on the subject, and also nominated candidates for other officers. This question was the subject of a furious controversy all last summer and nearly split the party. Herr Bebel, who said a man who respected himself could never accept the vice-presidency, because he would have to go to court on occasions and call for cheers for the Emperor, won a complete victory at the party convention at Dresden. The Revisionists, under the leadership of Herren Bernstein and von Vollmar, who proposed that the party should seek the vice-presidency as a recognition of its strength, were nearly driven out of the party organization. It was even expected that Herr Bernstein might join the Barth Radicals in consequence of Herr Bebel's disposition. The Conservatives and members of the Center party were rejoicing believing that the effectiveness of the Social Democratic opposition would be lessened by an intense internal fight during the present Reichstag. They were amazed, therefore, to-day to find the Social Democrats acting in accord on the one question in dispute.

'FRISCO PEACE

MEETING A GRAND SUCCESS—AS FAR AS TALKING GOES.

Great and Glorious Sentiments Expressed on Industrial Harmony via Arbitration—A. F. of L. and A. L. U. Struggle for Supremacy—Other News.

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 30.—The citizens' mass meeting, held here a week or more ago for the purpose of bringing about a permanent industrial peace by means of arbitration, was a grand success, as far as talking goes. Great and glorious sentiments were expressed by the ministers and labor fakirs who officiated on that occasion, but the practical results of the meeting are yet to come.

The boycotts which have enlivened Market street for the last few weeks are still in operation. Said boycotts are the outgrowth of a disagreement between the Cloakmakers' Union and the Cloak Manufacturers' Association, and have been under arbitration from the first, but they seem to have come to stay. The harness makers' strike is in a fair way to be settled. News from Stockton states that the tailors have gone back to work.

The Southern Pacific freight handlers of San Francisco are forming a union under the auspices of the A. F. of L., through the San Francisco Labor Council. This would not be an especially noteworthy incident but for the fact that the Southern Pacific handlers are already organized in the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes, which is affiliated with the A. L. U. The new union is, of course, founded upon a disagreement in the old, the trouble being fanned by the rivalry between the two central organizations. The A. L. U. is having a hard fight in San Francisco, and the vice-president of the Western Federation of Miners has been in the city during the past few weeks, laboring in its behalf. San Francisco is essentially a middle class town and its small competing manufacturers would often be at the mercy of the unions were it not for the kindly offices of the three rival labor centres, which are ever ready to scab on one another.

Sentimental and religious Socialism still holds its own here. The influence of the Rev. Mr. Bliss is still felt. Father McGrady also scored quite a triumph among the weak-minded. The "Socialist" party profited by this, though it was evidently far from the reverend gentleman's intentions to aid their humble allies. But they talked "broad" Socialism just before the election, and the result was a few votes. The falling off of the "Socialist" party vote here was in the percentage, not in the actual numbers.

The calibre of the "Socialist" party has never been so low as at present. The old-time Socialist Labor Party trained Kangs have disappeared from the street meetings and their places are filled by what is plainly the lowest class of fakir.

On the other hand, the new life of the Socialist Labor Party is making itself felt throughout the State. The Sunday and Weekly People are in demand at the street meetings, and the sale of our literature increases rapidly day by day.

BUFFALO LABOR LYCEUM.

A series of public lectures is now being held every Sunday at 3.15 p. m., under the auspices of the Labor Lyceum, in Florence Parlors, 527 Main, near Genesee, street. They are delivered mostly by non-Socialists—noted reformers, lawyers, doctors, clergymen and politicians of the city—but the Lyceum is organized and entirely controlled by our Buffalo section, and during the discussion the comrades criticise the ideas of non-Socialists from the standpoint of the revolutionary, working class Socialism. Every man and woman should attend and learn to criticise the various ideas and notions of the non-Socialists Admission is free to all.

The next lectures on the programme are as follows:

December 12—By Mr. W. A. Douglas of Toronto, Canada.

December 20—By Hon. Attorney Arthur W. Hickman, on "Personal Rights."

December 27—By ex-Assemblyman Attorney Edw. R. O'Malley, on "Modern Methods of Legislation."

Januar 3—By Prof. J. E. Stagg, on "Evils of Socialism."

* * *

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe. Subscription price: 50 cents per year; 25 cents for six months. Address Weekly People, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City.

GULLING THE GENOSSEN

J. C. M. IN THE EDINBURGH "SOCIALIST," ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

The recent elections for the German Reichstag once more brought into prominence the fact that on the Continent the Socialist party is infinitely stronger, from a numerical standpoint, than in any of the English-speaking countries. In almost every European country there is a body of Socialist representatives upon the national parliament, which has to be seriously reckoned with by the various capitalist governments.

Whether these European Socialist parties are in all cases perfectly clear as to the revolutionary goal which is the single aim of Socialism, and as to the means whereby it is to be attained, is a question that allows of considerable discussion. It may be pretty confidently asserted that the degree of definiteness of "radicality," characterizing any particular parliamentary Socialist group, is determined by the stage of development which capitalism has reached in that particular country.

Where capitalism is at an elementary stage of development, where the acuteness of the class struggle has not yet been realized, where the small producer and little middle class are relatively large in numbers, there the political warfare is necessarily centered upon the overthrow of the remnants of still surviving, the monarchy, nobility and squirearchy. The clear issue between capital and labor, "la lutte finale," is necessarily more or less relegated to the background, and the function of a Socialist party in such a country, no matter how clear the theoretical knowledge of its leaders may be, is necessarily little different from that of a radical or liberal party in a more highly developed nation. There is this difference, that in the latter nation the liberal or radical party, having accomplished its task, is consequently a useless survival, and necessarily reactionary, while in the former country the Socialist party is performing useful work in completing the capitalist revolution and making clear the party for the march of the proletariat.

Thus it is perfectly natural that the Bulgarian Socialist party, whose leaders showed such a clear theoretical conception of revolutionary principles as to gain for the party the glory of having been the only delegation, with the exception of Ireland, that voted solidly against the infamous Kautsky Resolution at the Paris International Congress, should since then have developed strong revisionist tendencies voiced by some of their ablest and most brilliant speakers and journalists, and that their Congress should have adopted the same timid policy as the German party toward the revisionist Bernstein, viz., that of verbally condemning revisionist views while permitting the revisionists to continue disseminating their opinions within and without the party. Capitalism in Bulgaria has hardly cut its milk teeth.

Similarly it is quite in keeping with the fitness of things, quite in accordance with economic conditions, that in the two nations where capitalism has reached the furthest point of development yet known—Britain and America—the Socialist Labor Parties of both countries should represent political organizations unexampled the whole world over for clearness of vision and definiteness of revolutionary standpoint.

Still the fact has to be faced that numerically Socialism is weak in both countries. No matter how "moderate," from the standpoint of British and American conditions, the views of many continental Socialists may be, it is undeniable that in Europe class-feeling among the workers is strong and clear, and that they have firmly grasped the fundamental truth that the battles of labor must be fought at the ballot-box. The political indifference so commonly characteristic of the British worker is unknown there. If we are asked the reason of this phenomenon the answer of the S. L. P. of both countries is unhesitatingly given that it is to be found in the influence of the treacherous, corrupt, and incompetent Trade Union and Labor Leaders, from the downfall of the Chartist movement onwards to the present day.

That that influence is at length giving way, that the splendid enthusiasm of the party is reaching the workers daily and bringing in more recruits in a year than were won in a decade during the latter part of last century, shows that the tide is turning and that the inertia of the mass against which we have had so long to struggle is at length giving way to our efforts. We have a hard task before us, but it is cheered by the certainty of success, and by the joy of a comradeship unknown outside the party.

The hall-mark of a real and virile Socialist party is undoubtedly self-reliance and a confidence in its power to attain the end to which it has set itself. Wherever we find a party calling itself Socialist, like shipwrecked sailors on a desert island, waving a flag to attract the attention of any political craft that may pass by, we may be sure that their Socialism is an impudent imposture. Such is the position of the I. L. P. and the London S. D. F. at the present time—particularly the latter. That, however, is not the subject at present. Both in America and Britain it is to be noticed that parties of the description we have just noticed are accustomed, whenever a Socialist victory has taken place on the continent, to bang the cymbals, and beat the drums, and summon the proletariat to rejoice with them in their vicarious victory.

It goes without saying that we are at all times glad to hear of the success of our continental comrades. But in common decency the degree of ardor with which a Socialist, real or alleged, ought to jubilate over a continental success ought to be strictly proportionate to the degree of industry, intelligence, and success which he has manifested in fighting labor's battles at home. "At the last day, my friends," said a Highland parson, "every herring must hing by its own tail." And in the battle against capitalism the Socialist party of each country must stand by itself and be judged by itself. No amount of sentimental snivel or beery raptures about the "International Socialism" can atone for incompetence, treachery, and muddlement at home.

It has been, and is, the continual practice of the bogus organization calling itself the "London Social Democratic Federation" to strive by booming continental successes to win for themselves a prestige which they have gained just as little as they have deserved it. Their "demonstration" at Trafalgar Square, after the declaration of the results of the German polls, was the laughing-stock of the London workers, that is to say, of those of them who ever heard of it. On that occasion those ranters, whose organization is practically non-existent outside of London, and who have never sufficiently realized their political duties to put forward candidates for the dominant governing body, the London County Council, brayed cacophonously before two or three hundred workers who, having lounged up in the direction of the Monument before the speakers arrived, blissfully ignorant that anything was on the tapis, were too inert and apathetic to move away out of radius of the noise, and so suffered sullenly and in silence till the farce was over. If an individual here and there in this choice audience came away with any definitely formed ideas at all, it must have been that Socialism (since it was practically an unknown quantity in London) must be some unholy German arrangement which had nothing in common with the lives of the English workers.

Foiled in this attempt to impress the public with their importance, and feeling lonely, desolate, and depressed, another organizing effort was made. At the time of the Conference of the German Social Democracy, Mr. F. G. Jones was sent there to assure the German Genossen (comrades) that the S. D. F. was still in existence, and was still able in various painful ways to scrape together the quarterly rent for 3 Bolt Court. Mr. Jones' speech has never been published in this country, and we have too much respect for our readers to publish it in full. We will restrict ourselves to quoting one sentence of this famous oration, as reported in the Hanover Volkswille—a Social Democratic organ. "At the elections in Great Britain the various workers' organizations will put forward from seventy to eighty *genuine* (!) *working-class* (!!) candidates, among them a great number (!!!) of Social Democrats."

The guileless Teutons, having had no previous acquaintance with Mr. Jones, and being ignorant of the Bolt Court canons of truthfulness as laid down at the London Conference at Easter by their general secretary, Mr. H. W. Lee, shut their eyes, opened their mouths, and swallowed. The result was that the whole German Social Democratic Press rang with triumphant and jubilant editorial articles on "The Awakening of the English Working Class."

The incident certainly has a very humorous side to it, but the average honest worker who is conscious of the real condition of affairs will be inspired with a healthy contempt for the man who would condescend to abuse the confidence of a trusting audience who, from the nature of things, were unable to verify his assertions, in order to gain a fictitious reputation for his own crazy organization.

In talking of the seventy or eighty "genuine working-class" candidates, a "great number of whom were Social Democrats," Mr. Jones alluded, of course, to the candidates brought forward by the Labor Representative Committee, a body which even the S. D. F. has professed to attack, and to which it is not nationally affiliated (probably because it soon became evident that it was practically impossible for any of the official Bolt Court clique to be nominated as candidates by it).

We have already devoted our energies on several occasions to exposing this bogus Labor Representation Committee, but for the sake of driving home the falseness of Mr. Jones' pretensions, we will recapitulate our charges. This organization has for its object the securing of political power, and places in Parliament for various Trade Union and Labor Leaders. It is utterly devoid of any pretences to revolutionary aims. In fact, so innocuous is it from a capitalist standpoint that Mr. Herbert Gladstone, the Liberal Whip, has given it his approval. Their candidates are supported by leading Liberals and the Liberal press throughout the whole country. A most notorious example was the candidature of Mr. Will Crooks for Woolwich. This gentleman contested and won the election on a purely radical programme, and by the help of the entire Liberal press. He received help from Radical clubs all over London, had vehicles lent him for the election day by Lord Roseberry, and received the congratulations of the Marquess of Queensberry and Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, the Liberal leader, the latter referring to him as "my friend, Mr. Crooks."

Among other "genuine working-class" candidates are: Mr. John Burns, who defended the massacre of Featherstone miners by the late Liberal Home Secretary, Mr. Asquith, and voted against a 30s. minimum wage in the London County Council; Mr. Geo. Barnes, the Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, who recently juggled his union into accepting a reduction of 1s. per week, and drove back to work the Glasgow engineers when they came out on strike against it; Mr. Shackleton, J. P., who supports child labor; Messrs. Robert Smillie and David Gilmour, who are eager for legislation to keep Polish and German workers out of British mines.

By the rules of this body the personal political opinions of the candidates nominated by it are not interfered with. All that is asked of them is that they call themselves "Labor" candidates. Most of them are Liberals, and one of them at least, Mr. Conley, well known as a "working man Conservative." That such a party can be nothing else than a faction of capitalist politics is a fact which is too evident to require demonstration. In German politics it is paralleled only by that bogus jingo organization led by Pastor Naumann, the National Social Democrats—a body which was consistently assailed by the Partei, and killed at the last elections, just as the S. L. P. will kill the Labor Representation Committee. Mr. Jones was himself thoroughly well qualified to represent this body, having been a Jingo himself throughout the late Transvaal war.

The statement that "a great number" of the L. R. C. candidates are Social Democrats is as truthful as the rest of the speech. On the confession of their own press organ, only five Social Democrats are to contest seats at next election. How many of these candidates will be withdrawn before the election occurs we do not know. To bluff constituencies with pretended candidates is an old S. D. F. game. Still less do we know from what source the election expenses are to be paid. Certainly it will not be out of the S. D. F. exchequer. What we do know is that all such candidates, whether S. D. F. or L. R. C., will receive the unflinching opposition of the real party of the workers, the S. L. P.—a party whose name and fame do not depend upon bogus representations to continental conferences, but are won in open battle with the capitalistic foe.

SOCIAL =:= EVOLUTION

WRITTEN FOR "THE PEOPLE" BY MRS. OLIVE M. JOHNSON, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK.

However, with the rise of agriculture and domestication of animals, man commences to acquire more and more private property, not only in personal requirements, clothing, luxury, houses, etc., but moreover in tools, animals, and, finally, land. About this stage of development the human race made a most important discovery, namely, slavery. The whole organization of barbaric society was based upon equality. There are war chiefs and civic chiefs, there are counselors and elders, indeed; but these have no authority over their fellow members of the tribes, as we know authority to-day. The war chief commanded in war ,but had no privileges over his fellow warriors and, as they chose him so could they depose him. The civic chief had a directing authority in affairs concerning the production and distribution of the necessities of life, in the distribution of the land, in the exchange of the tribe's surplus products with those of neighboring tribes, in negotiating the settlement of disputes with such tribes, etc. No power of coercion whatsoever was attached to the office of chief and the right to punish crimes and abuses rested in the hands of the member of the gens and tribe. Prisoners of war were sometimes adopted as members, with the same rights and duties; otherwise, they were tortured and killed and, at least in time of famine, eaten to boot. Cannibalism gradually disappeared during barbarism, but did not give way entirely until man had solved the perplexing question what to do with prisoners of war. But, as said before, with the growth of private property in the means of life, slavery was discovered. With the tilling of the soil and the care of the animals drudgery work developed and by, no doubt, very occasional attempts at first, mankind learned that instead of eating their prisoners of war at one big feast they could devise other means by which they could practically eat them every day for a lifetime. By making them slaves, by setting them to work to produce the necessities of life for their owners, this feat was accomplished. Morality, then, takes a forward stride; cannibalism becomes shocking; slavery becomes the refined method. We shall see further on how the ruling classes go on refining the methods while the sum and substance remain the same.

However, slavery, at this period, can with truth be said to be one of the greatest discoveries in man's history, for though, after it had outgrown its usefulness, it was turned into one of the most pronounced abuses, nevertheless, at the early stages of civilization when drudgery work for a part of the people at least was unavoidable, slavery was beneficial to the race, as it freed part of the people from exhausting toil and allowed them to develop mentally, and thus a more rapid advancement was possible.

However, with the introduction of slavery the old harmony within society was at an end. The first great class division was at that very instance introduced into society, namely that existing between freeman and slave. With this division the necessity of a change in the internal organization of the tribe became at once felt. Where equality no longer exists government cannot remain based thereupon. Whenever one part of a people have privileges not enjoyed by another part more or less force is necessary to restrain the non-privileged class from revolt. With slavery, therefore, a new government became necessary, and consequently the modern "State" gradually arises, the State that stands, so to speak, above and beyond society, and yet exercises a power of coercion within it. The standing army of trained and legalized murderers, the policeman with his club and pistol, the whole wonderful system of legal and judicial repression and all the related beatitudes of modern civilization were unknown to our barbarous ancestors and date only from the time when man learned to steal the toil of his fellowman. After man had learned to make the property of his fellowman private property grew apace in land, animals, houses, and luxuries, as well as slaves; and for various causes there soon was manifested an unequal accumulation of property among the freemen themselves.

During barbarism descent was traced through the mother and inheritance was in the female line, the property going to the wife's and mother's relations. One of the first results of this great internal struggle in human society was the breaking up of the organization based upon kinship, and the institution of the state based upon territory and property; and, as a corollary thereto, the institution of the strictly monogamian family and the change of descent from the female to the male line. It is with this change that woman loses her position of equality in society at large and becomes merely a factor in the family. The men, more and more having become the possessors of the wealth, it became urgent that the wealth a man could accumulate in a lifetime be left to his own immediate children. With the possibility of accumulating wealth from generation to generation fortunes arose. Some stepped into wealth when they stepped into the world, others never got hold of any. Hence a new class division, that between rich and poor, soon become manifest.

Furthermore as society became more complex and numerous articles were needed for its maintenance a new division of labor again took place, namely, between artisans and agriculturists and, this, in turn, brought about an habitual separation between the town and the country population. With this an habitual exchange of products becomes inevitable and this in turn gives rise to a new class, namely, the merchant class. Exchange of product by barter existed from a very early period of man's history; but it is only the superfluous products that are exchanged. However, with the division of labor between town and country the exchange of products necessarily becomes customary and the production of articles, not for use, but for exchange, becomes a feature of production. Again the necessity for a medium of exchange was long felt in society and all sorts of commodities were made to fulfill that place, notably so with cattle, they being a most important article of merchandise. Finally gold and silver in bulk crowded out other things as exchange mediums; but as soon as production for sale became common these also became too cumbersome and the coined metals or modern money made its advent, invented by necessity. With this, as said before, a new class, the merchant class, developed.

This is the first non-producing class which appears in history. It forces itself between two classes of producers, and, by apparently making itself useful to both, it extracts its living from them by getting out of each a greater value than it returns. Merchants' capital therefore was purely the result of cheating, of serving two masters and getting ahead of both. No wonder then that the ancients had no need to create two separate gods for thieves and merchants, but that one and the same Olympian representative, Mercury, was the ruling spirit of both. Things have changed since then. The trading class is now identified with the ruling class. The merchant is a capitalist and the "God Capital" is the most potent of all the earth's ruling forces, therefore, woe to him who would be so bold to-day as to suggest an identity between thieves and merchants.

With the appearance of money yet another class of non-producers come into existence, namely, that of usurers. Money from its first existence became the ruling force ,the all-important necessity, that without which nothing could be had. Therefore, as the merchant converted his money into commodities with the purpose of getting back his money plus a little more money, so this new parasite discovered that having money it was not necessary to take the intermediate step through commodities in order to convert his money into more money also. People got into difficulties and needed money. The usurer supplied the need and for the favor received back his money with interest. This parasite also has gained social recognition and distinction, and consequently we hear nothing to-day of a degraded creature called the usurer; but on the other hand a great deal of a "distinguished citizen" called the banker.

However, when all this had been accomplished by the human race, it stood in the midst of civilization. All the important natural products had been discovered. Man had spread over the entire surface of the earth, the wild beasts had well-nigh been conquered, and the natural forces to a degree at least had been bridled. At this period the fierce struggle with nature is almost ended and this same nature which was in the beginning man's most dreaded enemy is gradually becoming his very subservient and most obedient slave. One kind of struggle is conquered, namely, that against famine ,cold, deluges, and wild beasts; but another kind of a struggle has taken its place, a struggle none the less hard, none the less destructive, none the less cruel—namely, the struggle of class against class.

(To be continued.)

ON MONEY ISLAND.

One of the Men on It Takes in the Wise Guys.

Mr. Editor:—Encouraged by my letter in The People, December 5, 1903, I write you number two.

The wise guys say the workingmen can't get the best of the men in power; never did and never will and any one who thinks they can are fools—well I am a fool.

History tells how the feudal lords were overthrown by the middle class in Europe; how the colonies overthrew King George and the British Parliament; how the people put an end to slavery. When history is quoted, these wise guys say: "I don't want to know anything about history. Tell us how you are going to beat the men who have taken care of their money while others have spent their money in the saloon and wouldn't work when they had a chance?"

Oh, you ought to see these wise workingmen swell their chests and pat themselves, saying, "I'm a wise guy, I am. I know too much for you crazy Socialists. Are you foolish enough to think the Socialists will ever win?" Yes, I am foolish enough. Let me tell you a story; only a fool could tell such a story and see a moral in it:

Once upon a time there lived a man whose name was Robinson Crusoe. He sailed out to sea on a boat that could not stand its roughness and Crusoe had to swim. He swam only a short distance when his feet touched bottom and he finally reached land which proved to be an uninhabited island. All that he had was a few seeds of grain, etc. He lived there for several years before he could signal a ship that recognized him and came to his relief, but he was finally successful, when he boarded the ship and said good-by to the island that had been his home for so long.

Suppose a great number of people had reached an island after being wrecked as Robinson did and one man had saved a large sum of money, all the money there was and no more could be had from any source and he had said: "This island is mine because I have the money, but now as you won't let me have the money and the island too, I'll tell you what we'll do. You, all of you, own the island. You issue bonds like the United States does—aside, I'll show them how I'll have all, with their consent, money, island, and the control of the people—I will buy them the bonds, then you pay interest on the bonds, for easy figuring make it 10 per cent."

All right, the man who had the money spent it all for bonds, interest payable one year in advance. As soon as it passed from his hands, he had 10 per cent. or one-tenth of it back in interest, in nine years he will have all his money back again. Then they issue another bond which he buys under the same conditions. Remember, that when he had all his money back by the process known as interest, it did not destroy the first bond so they must pay interest on two bonds or 20 per cent., therefore, it will only take one-half as long to get the money back the second time; the next issue will cost 30 per cent. This bond will take only one-third as long as the first. The next will be 40 per cent., which will take one-fourth as long as the first; next, 50 per cent., and will take one-fifth as long; the next will be 60 per cent., and will take one-sixth as long to get the money back; then 70 per cent., that will take one-seventh the time; then 80 per cent., which will take one-eighth as long to get it back; then 90 per cent., which will take one-ninth as long as the first period, which was nine years. Therefore, the question arises: How much money do the people then have to use, how long have the various bonds been running and what then happens? This would be a good problem for the school children to figure.

Now as we know 100 per cent. is the whole and all the money must be paid back in interest. Then there is no possibility of issuing more bonds—then comes foreclosure. Under the capitalist system in order for the people to exist who have lost their property they must work for the people who own the property and the capital, as in the days of Egyptian bondage, but Moses led the children out of it. Now you know that when you don't have a market in which to sell your produce it is unwise to produce more than can be used. So the people on the island only produced for use until a ship made regular trips to the island to get the slaves' product, then the capitalist owner selected foremen to drive the workers to their limit.

Supposing that none of the wrecked had had any money when they landed there and had formed a co-operative government such as the Socialist Labor Party is advocating in The Daily and Weekly People. Do you think there would be any slave? Do you think there would be any need of police or military? Then when the ship approached the island would they not all have been in the arrangements concerning the products of labor? Would they not own their lives as well?

When I told you last week about the Vineland glass works, you wondered what connection the island had to it. None whatever, only to help thinkers to more easily comprehend the thought in this, the whole world is only an island, about twenty-five thousand miles in circumference, inhabited by only one and a half billion people, and China comprising about one-third of the whole. Space surrounds this island of ours.

The moral this fool sees in the story is the reflection it throws on the class struggle philosophy as taught by the S. L. P. press. I know I'm a fool to the wise guys of workingmen who know all that is worth knowing in their own estimation. Well, that is all they do own. Oh, no. They own more than that: they own the power to support the system that keeps them from owning anything but the life of a cringing dependent (slave), who has produced an over abundance of food, clothing, housing and all the comforts of life for a few people to traffic in, while they themselves have an under supply of the same things.

Mr. Editor, I know you think I am a fool, too, for asking you to recognize such baby talk, but if you came in close touch with these same guys you would find that in order to climb to their depth kindergarten scissors and paper might be more appropriate than ink. Who compose the trades unions and who compose the military? These same wise guys of workingmen. When the striking trades unionists and the military fight each other, workingmen do the killing act, and only kill workingmen.

On page 4 of The Weekly People, Saturday, Nov. 21, I read: "The present owners of the railroads and all other machinery and land needed by the people never produced them. The land is Nature's gift, the machinery is the product of the brain and manual labor of the working class, stolen from them by the capitalist class. To take this property is only to restore it to its owners."

On page 6 of Sunday, Nov. 22, "So long as workers are dependent on the capitalist class for employment," says Professor Cairnes, "the margin for the possible improvement of their lot is confined to the narrow barriers which cannot be passed." To remove these barriers labor unions must give up their attitude of political neutrality and marshal their forces on the political field.

Mr. Editor, if I could write like the above quotations from The People, perhaps I would not be the fool that I am, but maybe by and by when a few more of the workers become acquainted with the science of Socialism and the working class have emancipated themselves from wage slavery I may be kindly remembered, for instance, as Wendell Phillips; he was considered N. G. by the wise people of his time. Ever yours,

Wise Guys' Fool.

Paterson, N. J., Nov. 25.

VOTE IN MASSACHUSETTS.

North Abington, Mass., Dec. 2.—Partial copy of official returns of the votes in Massachusetts in the elections of 1902 and 1903:

For Governor.	1902.	1903.
Republican	196,276	199,684
Democratic	159,156	163,700
"S. P." (Kangaroo)	33,629	25,251
S. L. P.	6,079	4,561
Prohibition	3,538	3,278
All others	11	5

SONG OF THE WAGE SLAVE.

The land it is the landlord's,
  The trader's is the sea,
The ore the usurer's coffers fills—
  But what remains for me?
The engine whirls for master's craft;
  The steel shines to defend,
With Labor's arms, what Labor raised,
  For Labor's foes to spend.
The camp, the pulpit and the law
  For rich men's sons are free;
Theirs, theirs the learning, art, and
    arms—
  But what remains for me?
The coming hope, the future day,
  When wrong to right shall bow,
And hearts that have the courage, men,
  To make that future now.

I pay for all the learning,
  I toil for all their ease;
They render back, in coin for coin,
  Want, ignorance, disease;
Toil, toil—and then a cheerless home,
  Where hungry passions cross;
Eternal gain to them that give—
  To me, eternal loss.
The hour of leisured happiness
  The rich alone may see;
The playful child, the smiling wife—
  But what remains for me?

They render back, those rich men,
  A pauper's niggard fee;
Mayhap a prison, then a grave,
  And think they're quits with me.
But not a fond wife's heart that breaks,
  A poor man's child that dies,
We score not on our hollow cheeks
  And in our sunken eyes;
We read it there, where'er we meet,
  And as the sum we see,
Each asks: "The rich have got the earth,
  And what remains for me?"

We bear the wrong in silence,
  We store it in our brain;
They think us dull, they think us dead,
  But we shall rise again.
A trumpet through the lands will ring,
  A-heaving through the mass,
A-trampling through their palaces,
  Until they break like glass.
We'll cease to weep by cherished graves,
  From lonely homes we'll flee;
And still, as rolls our millions march,
  Its watchword brave shall be—
The coming hope, the future day,
  When wrong to right shall bow,
And hearts that have the courage, men,
  To make that future now.

—Ernest Jones.

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WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM

By AUGUST BEBEL

Translated from the Original German of the Thirty-Third Edition

By DANIEL DE LEON

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PART V.

Population and Over-Population.—Continued.

The same phenomenon appeared towards the close of the Middle Ages, after the nobility and clergy had, in the course of centuries and with the aid of all the crafty and violent means at their command, robbed unnumbered peasants of their property and appropriated the common lands to themselves. When, thereupon, the peasants revolted and were beaten down, the robber-trade gained new impetus, and it was then also practiced upon the Church estates by the Princes of the Reformation. The number of thieves, beggars and vagabonds was never larger than immediately before and after the Reformation. The expropriated rural population rushed to the cities; but there, due to causes that have been described in previous pages, the conditions of life were likewise deteriorating,—hence "over-population" was felt all around.

The appearance of Malthus coincides with that period of English industry when, due to the inventions of Hargreaves, Arkwright and Watt, powerful changes set in both in mechanism and technique, changes that affected, first of all, the cotton and linen industries, and rendered breadless the workingmen engaged in them. The concentration of capital and land assumed at the time large proportions in England: along with the rapid increase of wealth, on the one hand, there went the deepening misery of the masses, on the other. At such a juncture, the ruling classes, who have every reason to consider the existing world the "best of all possible worlds," were bound to seek an explanation for so contradictory a phenomenon as the pauperization of the masses in the midst of swelling wealth and flourishing industry. Nothing was easier than to throw the blame upon the too-rapid procreation of the workingmen, and not upon their having been rendered superfluous through the capitalist process of production, and the accumulation of the soil in the hands of landlords. With such circumstances for its setting, the "schoolboyish, superficial and pulpiteer piece of declamatory plagiarism," that Malthus published, was a work that gave drastic utterance to the secret thoughts and wishes of the ruling class, and justified their misdeeds to the world. Hence the loud applause that it met from one side, and violent opposition from another. Malthus had spoken the right word at the right time for the English bourgeoisie; hence, although his essay "contained not one original sentence," he became a great and celebrated man, and his name a synonym for the doctrine.[1]

Now, then, the conditions that caused Malthus thus to give his signal of alarm and proclaim his brutal doctrine—he addressed it to the working class, thus adding insult to injury—have since grown worse from decade to decade. They have grown worse, not alone in the fatherland of Malthus, Great Britain, but in all the countries of the world run by the capitalist system of production, whose consequences ever are the robbery of the soil and the dependence and subjugation of the masses through machinery and the factory. This system consists, as has been shown, in the separation of the workingman from his means of production—be these land or tools—and in the transfer of the latter to the capitalist class. That system produces ever new branches of industry, develops and concentrates them, and thereby throws ever larger masses of the people upon the street as "superfluous." On the field of agriculture it promotes, as the Rome of old, the latifundia ownership with all its sequences. Ireland, in this respect the classic land of Europe, and afflicted worst of all by the English system of land-grabbing, had in 1887 an area of 884.4 square miles of meadow and pasture land, but only 263.3 square miles of agricultural fields and the conversion of agricultural fields into meadows and pastures for sheep and cattle and into hunting grounds for the landlords makes every year further strides.[2]

Moreover the agricultural fields of Ireland are, in great measure, in the hands of a large number of small tenants, who are not able to cultivate the land in the most profitable manner. Thus Ireland presents the aspect of a country that is retrogressing from an agricultural into a pastoral condition. The population, that at the beginning of the nineteenth century was over eight million strong, has declined to about five million, and still several millions are "in excess." Ireland's normal state of rebellion against England is thus easily explained; and yet the struggle of the "Home Ruler" aims only at the creation of an Irish landlord class and no wise carries the wished-for deliverance to the mass of the Irish people. The Irish people will perceive that so soon as the Home Ruler shall carry out his plans. Scotland presents a picture similar to that of Ireland with regard to the ownership and cultivation of its soil.[3]

A similar development reappears in Hungary, a country that entered upon the modern field of development only recently. Hungary, a land in point of the fertility of her soil, as rich as few in Europe, is overloaded with debt, and her population, pauperized and in the hands of usurers, emigrates in large numbers. Hungary's soil is now concentrated in the hands of modern capitalist magnates, who carry on a ruinous system of cultivation in forest and field so that Hungary is not far from the time when it will have ceased to be a grain exporting country. It is quite similarly with Italy. In Italy, just as in Germany, the political unity of the nation has taken capitalist development powerfully under the arm; but the thrifty peasants of Piedmont and Lombardy, of Tuscany, Romagna and Sicily are ever more impoverished and go to ruin. Swamps and moors are reappearing on the sites occupied but recently by the well cultivated gardens and fields of small peasants. Before the very gates of Rome, in the so-called Campagna, a hundred thousand hectares of land lie fallow in a region that once was the "garden of Rome." Swamps cover the ground, and exhale their poisonous miasmas. If, with the application of the proper means the Campagna were thoroughly drained and properly irrigated, the population of Rome would have a fertile source of food. But Italy suffers of the ambition to become a "leading power:" she is ruining herself with military and naval armaments and with African colonization plans, and, consequently, has no funds left for such tasks as the reclaiming of the Campagna for cultivation. And as the Campagna, so are South Italy and particularly Sicily. The latter, once the granary of Rome, sinks ever more into deepening poverty. There is no more sucked-out, poverty-stricken and maltreated people in all Europe than the Sicilian. The easily-contented sons of the most beautiful region of all Europe overrun half Europe and the United States as lowerers of wages because they care not to starve to death upon the native soil that has ceased to be their property. Malaria, that frightful fever, is spreading over Italy to an extent that, frightened at the prospect, the government instituted in 1882 an investigation, which brought to light the deplorable fact that, of the 69 provinces of the country, 32 were severely afflicted by the disease, 32 were infected, and only 5 had so far remained free. The disease, once known only in the rural districts, penetrated the cities, where the urban, increased by the rural proletariat, constitutes a center of infection.

These facts, together with what has been said touching the effects and results of the capitalist system of production, teach us that want and misery with the masses are not the results of insufficiency in the means of existence, but of an unequal distribution, that furnishes some with a superfluity and condemns others to privation. It causes the destruction and squandering of supplies, and, along with that, negligence in producing these. The Malthusian assertions have sense only from the standpoint of the system of capitalist production. Whoever stands on that principle has every reason to defend it, otherwise the ground would slip from under him.

On the other side, however, the capitalist system itself favors the production of children, in so far as it needs cheap "hands" in the shape of such in its factories. The begetting of children, moreover, often becomes a matter of calculation with the proletariat. They cost the parents little or nothing: they soon earn their own support. In the house industries the proletarian is even obliged to have many children: they equip him all the better for the competitive struggle. It certainly is an abominable system: it conceals the pauperization of the workingman and it provokes his own rendering of himself superfluous through the children who work for the most miserable of wages. The immorality and harmfulness of this system are obvious, and they spread with the extension of capitalism. It is precisely for that reason that the bourgeois ideologists—and all bourgeois economists are that—defend the Malthusian theories. Hence in Germany also and in particular the notion of "over-production" ever finds support among the bourgeoisie. Capital is the innocent defendant, the workingman is the criminal.

Unfortunately, however, for this theory Germany has "superfluity," not of proletarians only, but also of "intellectuals." Capital brings about not only an over-production of soil, goods, workingmen, women and children, but also of "officials and learning"—as we shall show. There is only one thing that is not "superfluous" in this capitalist world—capital and its owner, the capitalist.

If the capitalist economists are Malthusians they are simply what their capitalist interests compel them to be. Only, they should not shift their bourgeois whims to the shoulders of Socialist society. John Stuart Mill says among other things: "But Communism is precisely the state of things in which opinion might be expected to declare itself with greatest intensity against this kind of selfish intemperance. An augmentation of numbers which diminished the comfort or increased the toil of the mass, would then cause (which now it does not) immediate and unmistakable inconvenience to every individual in the association; inconvenience which could not then be imputed to the avarice of employers, or the unjust privileges of the rich. In such altered circumstances, opinion could not fail to reprobate, and if reprobation did not suffice, to repress by penalties of some description, this or any other culpable self-indulgence at the expense of the community. The Communistic scheme, instead of being peculiarly open to the objection drawn from danger of over-population, has the recommendation of tending in an especial degree to the prevention of that evil." And Prof. Ad. Wagner says: "Least of all could freedom of marriage or freedom of procreation be tolerated in a Socialist community."[4] These authors proceed from the theory that the tendency towards over-population is one common to all social conditions, but both allow that Socialism is better able than any other social system to establish the equilibrium between population and food. The latter is true, not so the former.

True enough, there were one time Socialists, who, tainted by the Malthusian theories, perceived the "imminent danger" of over-population. But these Socialist Malthusians have disappeared. A clearer insight into the nature of bourgeois society, together with the fact that, judging from the plaintive songs of our Agrarians, we produce not too little but too much food, and that the resulting low prices render the production of foodstuffs unprofitable, has enlightened them on the subject.

A part of our Malthusians imagine—and the chorus of the mouthpieces of the bourgeoisie parrot-like echo their utterances—that a Socialist society, in which there is freedom in the choice of love and ample provision for a livelihood worthy of human beings, must soon degenerate into a rabbit warren: it would succumb to excessive sexual indulgence and to excessive procreation. Exactly the reverse is most likely to happen, as certain observations go to prove. Until now the largest number of children were had, not by the best, but by the worst situated. It may even be said without being guilty of exaggeration: the poorer the condition of a proletarian stratum, the more numerous also is its average blessing of children, conceding exceptions here and there. Even Virchow confirms this. He says: "As the English workingman in his deepest degradation, in the utter vacancy of the mind, finally knows but two sources of enjoyment, drunkenness and coition, so did the population of Upper Silesia, until recent years, concentrate all its wishes, all its desires upon these two things. Liquor and the gratification of sexual cravings had become sovereign with it. Hence it is easy to understand that its population gained as rapidly in numbers as it lost in physical vigor and moral fibre." Karl Marx expresses himself similarly when he says in "Capital:" "As a matter of fact, not only the number of births and deaths but the absolute size of families is in reverse ratio to the height of wages, i. e., to the means of subsistence which the various categories of workmen have at their disposal. *This law of capitalist society would sound absurd among savages, or even civilized colonists.* It reminds us of the enormous power of reproduction among animals that are individually weak and much hunted down;" and Marx furthermore quotes Laing, who says: "If all the world were in comfortable circumstances, the earth would soon be depopulated." We see Laing's views are opposed to Malthus: he is of the opinion that a good living is not conducive to the increase but to the decrease of births. In the same vein says Herbert Spencer: "Always and everywhere progress and procreative capacity are opposed to each other. It follows that the higher development, that mankind looks forward to, will probably have as a result a decline in procreation."

Thus we see men, who otherwise differ, absolutely at one on this head, and their views coincide wholly with ours.

The whole question of population could be practically disposed of off hand with the observation that there is no danger of over-population within sight: we find ourselves in front of such a superabundance of food, which even threatens to increase, that the greatest worry, now afflicting the producers of means of subsistence, is to furnish this wealth of food at tolerable prices. A rapid increase of consumers would even be the most desirable thing for producers. But our Malthusians are tireless in the raising of objections: thus we are forced to meet these, lest they have the excuse that they can not be refuted.

They claim that the danger of an over-population in a not-distant future lies in the law of a "decreasing yield of the soil." Our fields become "tired of cultivation;" increasing crops are no longer to be looked for; seeing that fields, fit for cultivation, become daily rarer, the danger of a scarcity of food is imminent, if the population continue to increase. We believe to have proved beyond doubt, in the passages on the agricultural utilization of the soil, what enormous progress mankind can make with respect to the acquisition of new masses of nutriment. But we shall give further illustrations. A very able landlord of wide acres and economist of acknowledged worth, a man, accordingly who excelled Malthus in both respects, said as early as 1850—a time when chemical agriculture was still in its swaddling clothes—on the subject of agricultural production: "The productivity of raw products, especially foodstuffs, will in future no longer lag behind the productivity of the factory and of transportation. . . Chemical agriculture has only started in our days to open to agriculture prospects that will no doubt lead to many false roads, but that in the end will place the production of foodstuffs as fully in the power of society, as it lies now in its power to furnish yards of cloth, if but the requisite supply of wool is at hand.[5]

Justus v. Liebig, the founder of chemical agriculture, holds that "if human labor and manure are available in sufficient quantity, the soil is inexhaustible, and can yield uninterruptedly the richest harvests." The "law of a decreasing yield of the soil" is a Malthusian notion, that had its justification at a time when agriculture was in an undeveloped state; the notion has long since been refuted by science and experience. The law is rather this: "The yield of a soil stands in direct ratio to the human labor expended (science and technique being included), and to the proper fertilizers applied to it." If it was possible for small-peasant France to more than quadruple the yield of her soil during the last ninety years, without the population even doubling, much better results are to be expected from a Socialist society. Our Malthusians, furthermore, overlook the fact that, under our existing conditions, not our soil merely is to be taken into account, but the soil of the whole earth, that is, to a great extent, territories whose fertility yields twenty, thirty and many more times as much as our corresponding fields of the same size. The earth is now extensively appropriated by man; nevertheless, a small fraction excepted, it is nowhere cultivated and utilized as it could be cultivated and utilized. Not Great Britain alone could, as has been shown, produce a much larger quantity of food than she does to-day, but France, Germany, Austria and to a still much greater extent the other countries of Europe also could do the same. In little Wurtemberg, with her 879,970 hectares of grain soil, the mere application of the steam plow would raise the average crop of 6,410,000 to 9,000,000 cwts.

European Russia—measured by the present standard of the population of Germany—would be able to nourish, instead of her present population of 90,000,000, one of 475,000,000 souls. To-day European Russia has about 1,000 inhabitants to the square mile, Saxony over 12,000.

The objection that Russia contains vast stretches of territory, whose climate renders impossible any higher degree of cultivation, is true; on the other hand, however, she has to the south a climate and fertility of soil by far unknown in Germany. Then, again, due to the denseness of population and the improved cultivation of soil therewith connected, such as clearings of woods, draining, etc., changes, wholly unmeasureable to-day, will be brought on in climate. Wherever man aggregates in large numbers climatic changes are perceived. To-day we attach too little importance to this phenomenon; we are even unable to realize the same to its full extent, seeing that we have no occasion therefor, and, as things are to-day, lack the means to undertake the needed experiments on an adequate scale. Furthermore, all travelers are agreed that in the high latitudes of Northern Siberia, where spring, summer and autumn crowd together in rapid succession within a few months, an astonishing luxuriance of vegetation suddenly springs forth. Thus Sweden and Norway to-day, so sparsely populated, would, with their mammoth woods and positively inexhaustible mineral wealth, their numerous rivers and long stretch of coast lines, furnish rich sources of food for a dense population. The requisite means and appliances are not obtainable under present circumstances, and thus even that sparse population casts off its shoals of emigrants.

What may be said of the north applies with still more force to the south of Europe—Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece, the Danubian States, Hungary, Turkey, etc. A climate of surpassing quality, a soil of so luxuriant and fertile as is hardly found in the best regions of the United States, will some day furnish an abundance of food to unnumbered people. The decrepid political and social conditions of those countries cause hundreds of thousands of our own people to prefer crossing the ocean rather than to settle in those much nearer and more comfortably located States. Soon as rational social conditions and international relations will prevail there, new millions of people will be needed to raise those large and fertile lands to a higher grade of civilization.

In order to be able to reach materially higher rungs on the ladder of civilization we shall, for a long time to come, have in Europe, not a superfluity, but a dearth of people. Under such circumstances, it is an absurdity to yield to the fear of over-population. It must ever be kept in mind that the utilization of existing sources of food, by the application of science and labor, knows no limit: every day brings new discoveries and inventions which increase the yield of the sources of food.

If we pass from Europe to the other parts of the earth, the lack of people and the excess of soil is still more glaring. The most luxuriant and fruitful lands of the earth still lie wholly or almost wholly idle: the work of bringing them under cultivation and turning them to use can not be undertaken with a few hundred or thousand people: it demands mass colonizations of many millions in order to be able to bring the but-too-luxuriant Nature under human control. Under this head belong, among others, Central and South America—a territory of hundreds of thousands of square miles. Argentina, for instance, had in 1892 about 5,000,000 hectares under cultivation, the country has, however, 96,000,000 hectares at its disposal. The soil of South America, fit for the cultivation of corn and lying fallow, is estimated at 200,000,000 hectares, at least. The United States, Austria-Hungary, Great Britain and Ireland, Germany and France have all togethor only about 105,000,000 hectares devoted to cereals. Carey maintains that the 360-mile long valley of the Orinoco alone could furnish enough food to supply the whole present human race. Let us halve the estimate, and there is still an abundance. At any rate, South America alone could feed the majority of the population now extant on earth. The nutritive value of a field planted with banana trees and one of equal size planted with wheat stands as 133 to 1. While our wheat yields in favorable soil 12 to 20 times its seed, rice in its home yields 80 to 100, maize 250 to 300 times as much. In many regions, the Philippine Islands among them, the productivity of rice is estimated at 400 times as much. The question with all these articles of food is to render them as nourishing as possible by the manner in which they are prepared. Chemistry has in this a boundless field for development.

Central and South America, especially Brazil, which alone is almost as large as all Europe—Brazil has 152,000 square miles with about 15,000,000 inhabitants, as against Europe's 178,000 square miles and about 340,000,000 inhabitants—are big with a luxuriance and fertility, that stir the astonishment and wonderment of all travelers, besides being inexhaustibly rich in minerals. Nevertheless, until now they are almost closed to the world because their population is indolent and stands, both in point of numbers and of culture, too low to overmaster the power of Nature. How matters look in Africa we have been enlightened on by the discoveries of recent years. Even if a good part of Central Africa never be fit for European agriculture, there are other regions of vast size that can be put to good use the moment rational principles of colonization are applied. On the other hand, there are in Asia not only vast and fertile territories, able to feed thousands of millions of people, but the past has also shown how in places that are there now sterile and almost desert, the mild climate once conjured up an abundance of food from the soil, provided only man knows how to lead to it the blessing-bestowing water. What with the destruction of the marvelous aqueducts and contrivances for irrigation in Asia Minor and in the regions of the Tigris and the Euphrates, with vandalic wars of conquest and the insane oppression of the people by the conquerors, fields, thousands of square miles wide, have been transformed into sandy deserts. Likewise in Northern Africa, Spain, Mexico and Peru. Let there be produced millions of civilized human beings, and inexhaustible sources of food will be unlocked. The fruit of the date tree thrives marvelously in Asia and Africa, and it takes up so little room that 200 trees can go on one acre of land. The durrha bears in Egypt more than 3,000 fold, and yet the country is poor—not by reason of excessive population, but as the result of a robber system that accomplishes the feat of spreading the desert ever further from decade to decade. The marvelous results attainable in all these countries by the agriculture and horticulture of middle Europe is a matter that eludes all calculation.

With the present state of agriculture, the United States could easily feed fifteen and twenty times its present population (63,000,000)—that is, 1,200,000,000 people. Under the same conditions, Canada could feed, instead of 5,000,000 people, 100,000,000 people. Then there are Australia, the numerous and in some instances large and extraordinarily fertile islands of the great Indian Ocean, etc. "Multiply!"—such, and not "Reduce your numbers!"—is the call that in the name of civilization reaches the human race.

Everywhere, it is the social conditions—the existing method of production and distribution—that bring on privation and misery, not the number of people. A few rich crops in succession lower the prices of food in such manner that a considerable number of our cultivators of the soil are ruined. Instead of the condition of the cultivator being improved, it declines. A large number of farmers to-day look upon a good crop as a misfortune: it lowers prices so that the cost of production is barely covered. And this is called a rational state of things! With the view of keeping far away from us the abundance of the harvests of other countries, high duties are placed on grain: thus the entry of foreign grain is made difficult and the price of the domestic article is raised. We have no scarcity but a superabundance of food, the same as of industrial products. The same as millions of people need the yield of the factories, but can not satisfy their wants under the existing system of property and production, so are millions in want of food, being unable to pay for it, although the prices are low and the necessaries of life abundant. We ask again, Can this be called a rational state of things? The craziness and insanity of it all is obvious. Our speculators in corn often, when the crops are good, deliberately allow a large part to perish: they know the prices rise in the measure that the products are scarce. And yet we are told to look out for over-population! In Russia, southern Europe and many other countries of the world, hundreds of thousands of loads of grain perish yearly for want of proper storage and transportation. Many millions of hundredweights of food are yearly squandered because the provisions for gathering in the crops are inadequate, or there is a scarcity of hands at the right time. Many a corn field, many a filled barn, whole agricultural establishments are burned down, because the insurance fetches higher gains. Food and goods are destroyed for the same reason that ships are caused to go to the bottom with their whole crews.[6] A large part of the crops is yearly ruined by our military manoeuvres; the costs of manoeuvres that last only a few days run up to hundreds of thousands of marks; and there are many of them every year. Moreover, as stated before, large fields are taken from cultivation for these purposes.

Nor must it be forgotten that there is the sea yet to be added to the means for increasing the volume of food. The area of water is as 18 to 7 to that of land,—two and a half times as large. Its enormous wealth of food still awaits a rational system of exploitation. The future opens a prospect to mankind, wholly different from the gloomy picture drawn by our Malthusians.

Who can say where the line is to be drawn to our chemical, physical physiologic knowledge? Who would venture to predict what giant undertakings—so considered from our modern standpoint—the people of future centuries will execute with the object in view of introducing material changes in the climates of the nations and in the methods of exploiting their soil?

We see to-day, under the capitalist social system, undertakings executed that were thought impossible or insane a century ago. Wide isthmuses are cut through; tunnels, miles long and bored into the bowels of the earth, join peoples whom towering mountains separate; others are dug under the beds of seas to shorten distances, and avoid disturbances and dangers that otherwise the countries thus separated are exposed to. Where is the spot at which could be said: "So far and no farther?"

If all these improvements were to be undertaken simultaneously, we would be found to have, not too many but too few people. The race must multiply considerably if it is to do justice to all the tasks that are waiting for it. Neither is the soil under cultivation utilized as it should be, nor are there people enough to cultivate three-fourths of its face. Our relative over-production, continuously produced by the capitalist system to the injury of the workingman and of society, will, at a higher grade of civilization, prove itself a benefit. Moreover, a population as large as possible is, even to-day, not an impediment to but a promoter of progress—on the same principle that the existing over-production of goods and food, the destruction of the family by the enlisting of women and children in the factories, and the expropriation of the handicrafts and the peasantry by capital have all shown themselves to be conditions precedent for a higher state of civilization.

We now come to the other side of the question: Do people multiply indefinitely, and is that a necessity of their being?

With the view of proving this great reproductive power of man, the Malthusians usually refer to the abnormal instances of exceptional families and peoples. Nothing is proven by that. As against these instances there are others where, under favorable conditions, complete sterility shortly sets in. The quickness with which often well situated families die out is surprising. Although the United States offer more favorable conditions than any other country for the increase of population, and yearly hundreds of thousands of people immigrate at the most vigorous age, its population doubles only every thirty years. There are nowhere instances on a large scale of the assertion concerning a doubling period of twelve or twenty years.

As indicated by the quotations from Marx and Virchow, which may be considered to state the rule, population increases fastest where it is poorest because, as Virchow justly claims, next to drunkenness, sexual intercourse is their only enjoyment. When Gregory VII. forced celibacy upon the clergy, the priests of lower rank in the diocese of Mainz complained, as stated before, that differently from the upper prelates, they did not have all possible pleasures, and the only enjoyment left them was their wives. A lack of varying occupation may be the reason why the marriages of the rural clergy are, as a rule, so fruitful of children. It is also undeniable that our poorest districts in Germany—the Silesian Eulengebirge, the Lausitz, the Erzgebirge and Fichtelgebirge, the Thuringian Forest, the Harz, etc.,—are the centers of densest population, whose chief food are potatoes. It is also certain that sexual cravings are strong with consumptives, and these often beget children at a state of physical decline when such a thing would seem impossible.

It is a law of Nature—hinted at in the quotations made from Herbert Spencer and Laing—that she supplies in quantity what she loses in quality. The animals of highest grade and strength—lions, elephants, camels, etc., our domestic animals such as mares, asses, cows,—bring few young ones into the world; while animals of lower organization increase in inverse ratio—all insects, most fishes, etc., the smaller mammals, such as hares, rats, mice, etc. Furthermore, Darwin established that certain wild animals, so soon as tamed, forfeit their fecundity. The elephant is an illustration. This proves that altered conditions of life, together with the consequent change in the mode of life, are the determining factors in reproductive powers.

It happens, however, that it is the Darwinians who lead in the fear of over-population, and upon whom our modern Malthusians bank. Our Darwinians are everywhere infelicitous the moment they apply their theories to human conditions: their method then becomes roughly empirical, and they forget that, while man is the highest organic animal, he, being in contradistinction to animals acquainted with the laws of nature, is able to direct and utilize these.

The theory of the struggle for existence, the doctrine that the germs of new life exist in much larger numbers than are maintainable with the existing means of existence, would be wholly applicable to man if man, instead of straining his brains and enlisting the services of technical arts for exploiting air, land and water, grazed like cattle, or like monkeys indulged his sexual impulses with cynic shamelessness,—in short, if he reverted to the monkey order. In passing be it observed that the fact that, besides man, monkeys are the only beings with whom the sexual impulse is not fixed to certain periods, is a striking proof of the relationship between the two. But though closely related, they are not identical, and are not to be placed on one level and measured by one standard,—a fact that we commend to Ziegler, who, in his book herein frequently referred to, holds up the two together.

The circumstance that, under the conditions of ownership and production that have hitherto prevailed, the struggle for existence existed and continues to exist for man also and many fail to find the conditions for life, is perfectly true. But these failed, not because of the scarcity of the means of existence, but because, due to social conditions, the means of existence, though in greatest abundance, were kept from them. False also is the conclusion that, because such has hitherto been the state of things, it is unchangeable and will ever be so. It is here that the Darwinians slide and fall: they study natural science and anthropology, but not sociology, and thoughtlessly fall in line with our bourgeois ideologists. Hence they drop into their false conclusions.

The sexual instinct is perennial in man: it is his strongest instinct and demands satisfaction, lest his health suffer. Moreover, as a rule, this instinct is strong in proportion to man's health and normal development—just as a good appetite and a good digestion bespeak a healthy stomach, and are the first prerequisites for a healthy body. But gratification of the sexual instinct and begetting and conceiving are not the same thing. The most varied theories have been set up on the fecundity of the human race. On the whole, we are still groping in the dark on this important field, mainly because for a couple of thousand years a senseless shyness has stood in the way of man's occupying himself freely and naturally with the laws of his own origin, and to study thoroughly the laws of human procreation. That is gradually changing and must change much more.

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[1] That Darwin and others also became devotees of Malthus only proves how the lack of economic knowledge leads to one-sided views.

[2] Fred. Freiligrath sings in his fervid poem "Ireland":

Thus naught the Irish landlord cares,
  While hart and ox by peasant's toil
For him are raised—he leaves undried
  Great bogs and swamps on Erin's soil—
Extensive mirelands unreclaimed,
  Where sheaf by sheaf rich crops could wave;
He vilely leaves—a wanton waste—
  Where water-fowl and wild ducks lave.
    Four million acres feels his rod;
    A wilderness accursed of God.

[3] "Two millions of acres . . . totally laid waste, embracing within their area some of the most fertile lands of Scotland. The natural grass of Glen Tilt was among the most nutritive in the county of Perth. The deer forest of Ben Auider was by far the best grazing ground in the wide district of Badenoch; a part of the Black Mount forest was the best pasture for black-faced sheep in Scotland. Some idea of the ground laid waste for purely sporting purposes in Scotland may be formed from the fact that it embraced an area larger than the whole county of Perth. The resources of the forest of Ben Auider might give some idea of the loss sustained from the forced desolations. The ground would pasture 15,000 sheep, and as it was not more than one-thirtieth part of the old forest ground in Scotland . . . It might, &c. . . . All that forest land is as totally unproductive . . . . It might thus as well have been submerged under the waters of the German Ocean."—From the London "Economist," July 2, 1866, cited by Karl Marx in "Capital," p. 757, edition Swan-Sonnenschein & Co., London, 1892.

[4] Rau's "Lehrbuch der Politischen Oekonomie," p. 367.

[5] Rodbertus: "Zur Beleuchtung der sozialen Frage."

[6] Similar conditions must have existed at the time of St. Basil. He calls out to the rich: "Wretches that you are, what answer will you make to the divine Judge? You cover the nakedness of your walls with carpets, but do not cover the nakedness of human beings! You ornament your horses with costly and smooth coverlets, and you despise your brother who is covered with rags. You allow your corn to rot and be devoured in your barns and your fields, and you do not spare even a look for those who have no bread." Moral homeletics have since old done precious little good with the ruling class, and they will do no better in the future. Let the social conditions be changed so that none can act unjustly towards his fellowman; the world will then get along easy enough.

(To be Continued.)

WEEKLY PEOPLE

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
IN 1902	**53,617**

In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to.

A SIGHT FOR THE MILLIONS.

Cooper Union, in this city, is well known; yet it is pity that it stands not upon a hill. At least on the 3d instant it would have been of great use if its location could have been such as to cause it to be seen and heard throughout the width and length of the land.

John Turner is an alien held for deportation under section 38 of the new and alleged anti-Anarchist law. Mr. Turner is said to be a "philosophic Anarchist" and he came to this country as an "organizer for unions." Setting aside the idiosyncracies of Mr. Turner's views on sociology, and also the bizarreness of the combination in one person of "philosophic Anarchy" and "organizer" of anything, Trades Unions or whatever else, the important fact in connection with this Cooper Union meeting is, not so much the rancid stupidity of the law under which the gentleman is suffering, but the pronouncement of Labor in his behalf. The A. F. of L. at its last convention, the C. F. U. of this city at a recent session and organized Labor bodies innumerable have decided that the conduct of the Government towards Turner is an outrage, and, what's more, an outrage against Labor. That is the climax. Now comes the anti-climax of the Cooper Union meeting.

At the Cooper Union meeting a dense crowd, consisting mainly of workingmen and women, assembled in "indignation meeting." Say that, with no specific information other than the above, a thinking straggler from Mars had happened to straggle on that evening near Cooper Union, and floated with the current into the great hall, what must his expectations have been? He must have reasoned:

"The working class in America has been long kept in terrorism. The black-list is applied against them, not for the mere uttering, but for the bare harboring of thoughts that interfere with the plunder practised upon them by the capitalist class. When the black-list does not suffice, then spiked policemen's clubs, together with the rifle of the military and the militia, sanctified by the Gatling guns on paper of the judiciaries, does the work with precision and despatch. Moreover, as to 'deportation,' there is not a day passes over the heads of the workers in this country but they are deported, not in steamers, with some degree of comfort, but in the helter-skelter-and-pell-mellness of explosions, cave-ins, fires, or via the fiendish route of slow starvation through improper housing, clothing and food and criminally unsanitary workshops; they are deported, not singly, but in squads—deported wholesale under ground.

"Surely this Turner incident must be in the nature of the straw that breaks the camel's back. Surely the straw will be used as a straw, while the load of padlocking mouth and mind and of wholesale deportation under-ground will be the 'motive' of meeting and speech. Surely I am about to witness a mass demonstration, where, with energetic best foot forward, Labor is to take a stand against the mind-and-mouth padlocking and wholesale underground deportating capitalist class, together with their freetrade and protection Republican and Democratic party political henchmen.

"Surely I am about to witness an epoch-marking, new leaf turning historic incident!"

Such, no doubt, must have been the reasoning and such the expectations of the casual straggler. By them may be measured the distance of their fall.

The speakers were, without exception, Democratic party hacks; flannel-mouthed ranters on free trade as a "lower-taxation" lure by which to entrap and all the better to fleece and "deport" the workers; politicians on the alert to stampede the workers from the cattle yard and shambles of the Republican party, into the cattle yard and shambles of the Democratic party; capitalist co-outragers with the Republican capitalist wing of every principle of justice, of freedom and humanity towards the working class, and who, having long been "out," are hungry for a bigger slice of the hide of Labor!

That sight should have been on exhibition on a hill in plain view of the whole people—a sight to make the thinking workingman hot with indignation and cold with shame—indignation at the miscreant orators who sought to profit by their own wrongs; shame at the befuddled workers who gave them an audience, applauded their fly-paper oratory and thus encouraged them on the path of capitalist chicanery.

* * *

THE BONSACK & DEMPSEY CASES NO EXCEPTION.

The cases of the Bonsack Company and Dempsey have been often cited in these columns. "In consideration of employment" the employes of the Bonsack Company were forced to sign an agreement whereby all the inventions that they made during the term of their employment were to belong to the company, and a valuable invention in the crimping of cigarettes, made and perfected by one who had been an employe, was construed by the courts to come under the "contract." In the Dempsey case, it will be remembered, the chemical secrets, discovered by an employe, were by the Court adjudged the property of his employer on the ground that "it would be intolerable tyranny to place the employer at the mercy of the employe." These cases are no exceptions, similar evidences of the zeal of capitalist society in "protecting the ambition" of the individual, and safeguarding the product of his genius are of frequent occurrence. The latest, however, is of more than usual interest.

The United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the First Circuit has just disposed of a case in which, like in the Bonsack instance, an agreement was made by an employe, in consideration of his employment, that the employer was to have the benefit of all inventions made by him while so employed, and that he was "to keep the same forever secret if required by the employer." The Courts were resorted to in order to keep the padlock on the employe's mouth. He pleaded that the keeping of such a secret, thereby depriving the world of its advantages, as the dog-in-the-manger employer exacted, was "unconscionable and against public policy." The capitalist Court held against the employe, declaring such a demand on the part of the employer to be neither unconscionable nor against, but positively in favor of, public policy!

The "incentive" that capitalist society promotes is obviously not that of mental or physical exertion on the part of the workingman. Who will feel incentived to make inventions if both the material benefit and the glory are to be taken from him? The "incentive" that capitalism promotes and fosters by its non-partisan Courts is the vulture's incentive of the capitalist class to pluck the working class.

* * *

"CONSCIENCE."

The Rev. Dr. Thomas R. Slicer, pastor of All Souls' Church, recently delivered an address in Cooper Union of specific economic viciousness. Dr. Slicer roundly denounced "the millionaires who wring the life of the poor" and then, in the usual style of such gentlemen, proceeded forthwith to destroy whatever value there may be in such denunciation by giving an economically false explanation of the "benevolence" of the millionaire freebooters. Dr. Slicer's explanation is that "the millionaires give only to ease their conscience." The explanation is false, both in psychology and economics. It is false in psychology because the "millionaire's conscience" does not exist. It does not exist because it cannot exist; why it cannot exist is an economic demonstration.

The "millionaire" is a capitalist entity. As such he combines in his person a permanent and a transitory feature of "large production," of the sort of production that civilization demands.

The permanent feature is the concentration of large productive powers. This feature is permanent because without such concentration production is unequal to the needs of civilized society.

The transitory feature is the private ownership of such concentrated large productive powers. This feature is transitory because future society will not tolerate in private hands that upon which depends the life, liberty and pursuit of happiness of the people. As our political structure is democratic, so must the economic structure be. The Socialist Republic, whose outlines are heaving above the horizon, requires that the machinery of production must belong to the people in common, the same as their machinery of government. It is owing to the combination of this transitory feature with the permanent one in one person that the peculiar thing, the "millionaire" springs up, and his qualities are developed.

The holding of $1,000 for productive purposes in private hands generates the necessity to protect that $1,000, and the instinct how to do it. There is but one way. It takes $4,000 to buttress up that $1,000; it takes $16,000 to buttress up that $4,000; it takes $256,000 to buttress up that $16,000. To make a long tale short, it takes $4,000,000 to picket the front, rear and flanks of $1,000,000 of productive wealth held in private hands; $16,000,000 to do the same for the $4,000,000—and so on in an endless, and, consequently, self-destructive chain. When the capitalist amasses wealth he does so on the identical principle that a general amasses troops and pickets. From this central manoeuvre flow a number of minor ones—that of "giving" among the rest. Every "gift" is an outpost, to give warning of danger, a barrier to keep danger out should it press, a picket to disarm hostility. That's what a general is taught to do; that's what the "millionaire" instinctively does. Andrew Carnegie's recent "gifts," especially the proffered one to the United States of $10,000,000 bonds on his newly launched Steel Trust, and unsalable for 10 years, is the most obvious illustration of the quality of the "gift." Conscience has no more to do with the transaction than with a dog's burying of his bone.

To place capitalist gifts on the ground of a self-extorted balm to conscience is to convey a false structural notion of modern society. The act is vicious. It is all the more vicious when, as does Dr. Slicer, the vicious notion is conveyed within the sugar-coating of a just denunciation of the capitalist brigands.

* * *

HEADED FOR WASHINGTON.

Who has forgotten the fervid argument, made barely seven years ago by the capitalist class, that "no one can grow rich by legislation"? Those were the days of populism.

The capitalist class feared the Movement little in and of itself. It realized that populism was structurally defective, consequently, that it was bound to go to pieces. But, while at ease on that score, capitalism was dreadfully uneasy on another. Its scent was keen enough to detect the breath of Revolution across the populist dust. It was a distant whiff, yet unmistakable; and especially alarming was its direction. The revolutionary breath, that even the thick dust of populism could not suffocate, denoted a knowledge of the objective point. There was in it none of the tomfoolery about "electing good men wherever found," or "politics have nothing do with bread and butter." It knew better. Its peculiar aroma was political. It evidently had imbibed the truth that the Bread and Butter Question is essentially a political question. Accordingly, the objective point was the Government—and no little department thereof, such as municipal or State, merely—but the Federal Government, as embracing all others—that was to be captured. An ominous fact. It turned the stomach of capitalism. Thereupon the argument "no one can grow rich by legislation," harped upon on all imaginable strings.

Stupid bulls may be turned aside by a rag. The rag of that argument had, of course, no effect. In the meantime, however, the dust of populism having settled, the capitalists regained confidence. So completely did these innocents regain their confidence that they resumed their old ways and thereby are unwittingly furnishing fresh incentive to the Revolution, and fresh ammunition to riddle the rag with when waved again. The latest act of this nature is that which has just come to light on the way certain capitalists were seeking to grow rich by legislation on Cuba, how they struggled, and how one set, aided by Gen. Leonard Wood, outwitted the other and succeeded.

When the Cuban constitution was being framed, certain capitalist concerns—among them a syndicate of Boston and New York capitalists, with ex-Attorney General Griggs as attorney—desired concessions which a certain Castanada and other syndicates were likewise struggling for. In pursuit of their purpose the New York and Boston Syndicate secured the so-called Platt amendment, which Cuba was ordered to insert in its constitution, and which provided that all "lawful rights acquired thereunder (the military occupancy of the United States) shall be maintained." The Castanada crowd thereupon forged a translation of the Platt amendment and had inserted in the Cuban constitution, instead of "lawful rights acquired," "rights legally acquired," thus giving validity to rights, however unlawful in themselves, provided they were legally acquired, that is, provided the method of acquisition was legal during the military occupation. Thus the Castanada Electric Light and Power Syndicate, the Cuban Central Railway, the Jai Alai gambling concern and other concerns, not less "lawful" than the New York and Boston Syndicate, but neither less fishy, are in, the others out; the former reaping their crop of riches through legislation, the latter empty-handed, likewise through legislation.

Without legislation the capitalist class would be as poor as church mice. Hence it is that the working class, whose connection with legislation is only to be legislated against, are church mice today. Hence, also the Socialist Revolution is headed for Washington—which it will capture.

* * *

That the large number of robberies now prevalent are connected with the large amount of unemployment now prevalent seems to be the opinion of Mayor Harrison of Chicago. He has ordered the police to arrest those without visible means of support, and recognizes that there are many unfortunates who are out of work.'

The bogus Socialist exchanges that come to The People office are foaming at the mouth over the treatment accorded their "boring from within" resolutions at the A. F. of L. convention. Having served the labor fakirs well, they cannot understand why the bogus Socialists should receive nothing but kicks. These innocents expect the men who use them in their nefarious work of deceiving the working class to respect them, as though it were customary or possible to respect those who do not respect themselves.

The Rochester cutters' strike for an eight-hour day goes far to prove Harry Korkowinsky, alias White, right when he claims that the interests of claims that the interests of employer and employe are identical and capable of adjustment without conflict. By the way, it would be interesting to know if Korkowinsky, alias White, regards the cutting machine as another demonstration of "the mutual interests," etc.

Capitalism is no respector of race issues. In Richmond, the Western Union Telegraph Co. put negroes in the places of its striking white messenger boys. The Southern working class should take a tip from capitalism.

"The eight-hour friend of labor," Hon. Jacob Cantor, now turns out to have been a nine-hour deceiver of labor, in that he permitted a nine-hour day on the Hall of Records. 'Twas ever thus with "the friends of labor." When will labor learn that its best friend is itself?

The capitalist Mayor of Stamford told a local labor union that there is a limit to shorter hours and more wages. He is right, as far as capitalism is concerned. That limit is reached when shorter hour and higher wages prevent competition and endanger the profits of the capitalists. As soon as this happens industry ceases, idleness ensues, and things stagnate until longer hours, or its equivalent greater output, and decreased wages make "resumption" possible. This limit will only be removed under Socialism. Then, there being no profit taking class, hours will be reduced according to the improvements in machinery, while the workers will receive all that they produce.

The unions of this country have been discussing incorporation for the past two or three years. Some favored the idea as beneficial, but the majority feared its practical workings, declaring that they would prove detrimental to their existence. The discussion need not go any further. A Chicago judge, Jesse Holdom, has virtually ended the matter by finding a non-incorporated union guilty of illegal acts, the same as a corporate one.

Judge Holdom rendered his decision in the case of Franklin Union No. 4, press feeders, charged as a corporation with having violated the court's injunction restraining it from interfering with the business or employes of ten printing firms.

This is said to be the first time in the history of trades unionism in this country that a union was so adjudged. It is not likely to be the last time. The judiciary will practically incorporate the unions—that is, bring them by such decisions within the power of the law—whether they care to or not.

FATED MOTHS.

Would it be at all possible for the editors or officers of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic party, to breathe without thinking of the Socialist Labor Party? Obviously not. Like moths, the law of whose existence is to rush to the burning light and singe themselves to a crisp, these Bogus Socialists, whatever the subject they may have in hand, even their most intimate internal affairs, can not choose but drag in the S. L. P. or the Editor of The People,—and regularly, of course, fare like the moth. A striking incident in point is that of the Bogus Socialists' national secretary, William Mailly.

Mr. R. C. Massey, national committeeman of the said Socialist party for North Dakota, having found fault with his national secretary, Mailly, and scented rottenness in some of this gentleman's boon companions, freely expressed his views. The two exchanged epistolary compliments, and the correspondence is given in full in their press. Now, the following is one of the passages in which Mr. Mailly defends his boon companion, Chas. R. Martin of Tiffin, O., against the North Dakota man:

"Martin was also one of those who opposed Jas. R. Sovereign (who is now fighting Socialism in Idaho) when that traitor united with De Leon, and Martin was afterwards shut out of the New Orleans Convention of the Knights of Labor in 1893 through a combination of those two and Jno. W. Hayes."

What on earth has De Leon's name got to do in this Mailly-Martin-Massey squabble? Why at all drag him in? But the moth cannot avoid its fate. So let moth-Mailly take his singeing.

There are four names—Sovereign, De Leon, Martin and John W. Hayes—mentioned in the above passage. There is a fifth missing—Terrence V. Powderly. The facts of record in the episode, and against which no fact of record is adducable, are these:

At the Philadelphia convention (1893) of the K. of L., Terrence V. Powderly was tried and convicted, by documentary evidence and the books of the Order, of having appropriated to his own use moneys that had been just previously contributed to the aid and support of the Cocur d'Alene and Homestead strikers, and which had been so contributed upon a call from Powderly himself to their aid. The convention divided into two—a majority that screened Powderly, and a minority that condemned him, and demanded his overthrow. Martin and De Leon were in that convention. On what side were they found? De Leon stood on the side of the minority that branded Powderly and demanded his overthrow, Martin lined up with the majority that justified, and upheld the scamp for re-election.

Martin won out in that instance, but the victory of his majority was short-lived. It did not last a day. Immediately upon his re-election, which Powderly pronounced his "vindication," this gentleman proceeded to outrage decency in such manner, in the matter of the nominees to the G. E. B., that a turmoil arose, and Powderly speedily adjourned the session to the next day.

On the next day, immediately after routine matters, a motion was made to declare Powderly's seat vacant, on the ground of his unregenerate unfitness. Who made that motion?—De Leon, who was correctly, though furiously, pointed out by the Martins as "representing the S. L. P." The previous day's conduct of Powderly had forfeited from him several members of his original majority, not yet enough to turn the scales, but exactly enough to make a tie—a determined dead-lock against Powderly. A stubborn battle then ensued. It lasted four days, and ended only when Powderly rolled in the dirt. When Powderly rolled in the dirt, he rolled along with whom? With Chas. R. Martin, who had stood weepfully by him, on account of which Martin received at the convention the name of "Weeping Charley."

Sovereign was not at the convention. De Leon had never met him, and knew of him only as a well meaning but uninformed laborite. The element that had stood by De Leon in his fight against the reprobate Powderly, and that finally grew into a majority, nominated Sovereign, and De Leon supported him.

The next year, at New Orleans (that convention was 1894, not 1893,) Powderly and his fellows, Martins among them, prowled around the convention. Some of them were entitled to seats, and were admitted. Others, Martin among them, carried fraudulent credentials and were excluded. Powderly's corruption being established, the convention did all that was legitimate and succeeded in preventing such an ulcer from regaining the upperhand. Thereupon the ulcer decamped in the tender custody of Martin.

The year after that, when Sovereign proved himself a hopeless ignoramus, and; together with the other general officers of the Order, even began to give evidences of corruption, De Leon took his stand against him, as he had done against Powderly before, and his District, D. A. 49, the largest of all, pulled out with all the property, and thus dumped Sovereign.

From the above facts—all matters of public notoriety—it follows:

1st—De Leon was allied with Sovereign when Sovereign was still straight; when Sovereign became a crook, De Leon turned upon and dumped him, the same as he did Powderly;

2d—Martin allied himself with Powderly and against Sovereign when the former was convicted of crookedness, and nothing was yet on record to the discredit of the latter; and

3d—William Mailly, as he says himself, has known, loved and admired Martin for 9 years past, that is, after Martin's character was soiled with the soilure of his support of the crook and robber of Labor, Powderly.

No wonder Mr. Mailly, the creature of the Volkszeitung corporation, "loves and admires" Chas. R. Martin. Birds of a feather flock together.

There goes one more moth. Next!

* * *

The first of December cannot be said to have been ushered into the world of labor amid bright prospects and hopeful outlooks for the working class. On that day many of the dire prophecies regarding the reduced wages and idleness that the workingmen of the country would have to suffer during the coming winter entered on the first stages of fulfillment. From many of the largest industrial sections of the country there came on that day reports of lay-offs and wage reductions affecting thousands upon thousands of men.

In the coal fields about Shamokin, Pa., 2,500 men and boys were thrown out of work for an indefinite period, "due to poor coal trade." In Chicago, the railroads have discharged two thousand machinists, car workers, blacksmiths and boilermakers. The Harvester Trust has laid off 1,500 men at this point, 6,000 Harvester Trust employees at Chicago, Milwaukee, Springfield, Ohio, and Plano are to suffer likewise. In Chicago, the unemployed have enabled the employers to destroy the restaurant, hotel and railway express clerks' unions, and impose reductions on the laundry workers. "The slackened demand for iron ore and the large stock already accumulated" caused the discharge of 350 miners at Ishpeming, Mich.; while "lack of orders" is given as the reason for closing the United States Steel Corporation's mills at Duncansville, Pa., and throwing 800 men out of work; 200 men were likewise treated by the shutting down of the Alice furnace at Birmingham, Ala. Nearly six thousand men were thrown out of employment by the shutting down of the mills of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company at Pueblo, Colorado. At Paterson, N. J., only one-half the silk looms are in operation. In New York city it is announced that building will be confined to the completion of old contracts, the iron trades will engage in no new work, and the shipbuilding industry will be nearly all confined to repair work; while the stone industry will suffer along with the others engaged in construction. This means considerable idleness.

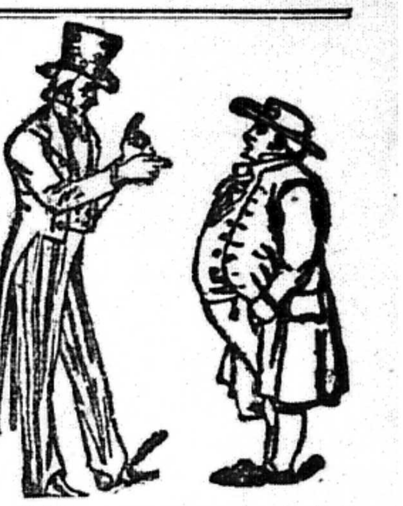
In the matter of wages, reductions of 15 per cent. will be imposed on 15,000 silk weavers at Paterson, N. J., and elsewhere; 25,000 molders of New England are said to be slated for a reduction in wages of "not less than 10 per cent." This most likely means that they will have to stand a 15 per cent. cut; 64,000 cotton textile operatives in Southern New England have accepted a cut down of 10 per cent.; 11,000 more are expected to be added to this list in New Bedford; 3,500 cotton operatives in Eastern Connecticut will also have to take a decrease of 10 per cent. But the biggest reductions of all are in the mills of the Steel Trust, the employees of the Demmier tin plate plant at McKeesport, Pa., accepting a 20 per cent. cut after a two weeks' strike; while the tin plate workers of the W. Dewees Wood Co. started last week with a 30 per cent. reduction! Truly, the working class have fallen on evil times.

These conditions should cause the working class to reflect. Prior to election it was said that if certain men, notably Mark Hanna, were not elected to office, disaster would overtake the country. Mark Hanna was elected, but the disaster is here. The high cost of labor was also declared to invite disaster. How comes it, then, that in the silk, cotton, paper and other industries in which strikes for wage increases were defeated, reductions and idleness also prevail? The stock inflations of "criminal trusts" have also been declared responsible. Of the 800 trusts in this country, 46—a large majority of whom were on paper only, never in actual operation, and therefore, incapable of doing harm—come within this designation. Are we to believe that 46 such trusts can nullify the solid achievements of the other 750?

The trouble is neither due to capitalist political or trust machination, nor to "labor's exactions." It is plainly due to the periodic glut—that is, overproduction or underconsumption,—which the capitalist robbery of the working class brings about, accelerated by the intense activity of "prosperity." Abolish the capitalists, not as individuals, but a useless and dangerous social class, and you abolish hard times.

Now we have the wireless car system! It does away with the third rail, overhead wires, poles, open conduits, cables and storage battery systems of propulsion. But we won't be happy and able to enjoy all these lessless things until we have a capitalist-classless economic system. That we will only have when we get Socialism. Hasten it along!

The capitalist newspapers are very anxious to push the clouds of the industrial depression away. If the publication of news of a hopeful tenor can do it, they will no doubt succeed. But as panics are primarily economic, and not psychological, it looks as though their efforts will not avail.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN (approaching Uncle Sam with a confidential air)—I want to make a suggestion to you.

UNCLE SAM—Let her fly!

B. J.—The Socialist Labor Party is an excellent party——

U. S.—That's a chestnut to me. What's your suggestion?

B. J.—There is no party like it——

U. S.—Is your budget of news made up of more such stale items?

B. J.—Its principles are brilliant——

U. S.—If you have no more thrilling news than you have so far imparted to me I'll have to leave you; this is my busy day.

B. J.—Just wait. It will be a glorious day for the nation the day the S. L. P. comes into power——

U. S.—Come, man; come, what have you on your heart?

B. J.—This: The thing for the S. L. P. to do is to——

(U. S. puts a hand to each ear so as to catch every sound.)

——to get a big and even bigger vote.

U. S. (looks tired at B. J.)—Is that the sum total of all your wisdom?

B. J.—Well, that's what it should do.

U. S.—Why, man alive, that's the very thing it is doing all along!

B. J.—Ah! That's what is claims to be doing——

U. S.—And don't it?

B. J.—And that's what it means to do——

U. S.—And don't it do it?

B. J.—No; it goes about it wrong. The way it goes about it is dead wrong. It never can get votes that way.

U. S.—And what's the way you would suggest? I suppose we are now getting at your "suggestion?"

B. J.—The way to go about it is to be broader. Don't be so fastidious about whom you take in; let them all come in; don't keep out anybody.

U. S.—Go on. Go on.

B. J.—By taking in everybody, friends of all these will come over to you on election day——

U. S.—I hope not!

B. J.—There you have it! Just as I said! The S. L. P. men don't want to increase their vote.

U. S.—Weren't you telling me only yesterday that you were living on reduced rations; that since you lost your job you were so hard pushed for something to bite that you had lost fully 10 pounds?

B. J.—That's what I said. Do you know of a job for me?

U. S. (talking very confidentially)—I want to make a suggestion to you.

B. J. (eagerly)—What is it?

U. S.—The thing for you to do is to eat more, to stow more food into you.

B. J. (impatiently)—I don't need you to tell me that! I am trying hard to do that very thing.

U. S.—Ah! That's what you claim that you are doing——

B. J.—And don't I?

U. S.—No; you go about it wrong. The way you go about it is dead wrong. You never can gain flesh that way.

B. J.—And what's the way you would suggest?

U. S.—The way to go about it is to be broader. You are too fastidious about what you put into your stomach; throw in everything, anything; stale cabbages, egg shells, potato peelings, fish bones, chicken feathers. By taking in all these things, just as they come along, or you come along them, you will——

B. J.—No, thank you!

U. S.—There you have it! Just as I said. You don't want to take in food.

B. J.—The devil, you say! I want to take in food all right, but not such stuff.

U. S.—Why not, pray?

B. J.—For the simple reason that I don't propose to commit suicide.

U. S.—And that's just why the S. L. P. refuses to take in "everybody." Such riff-raff as you say the S. L. P. is too fastidious about, and won't take, would sit on the stomach of the Party as hard as stale cabbage, egg shells, potato peelings, fish bones, chicken feathers, etc., would sit on your stomach. The Party's stomach could not digest them. The Party might possibly sooner get a big vote that way. But, in the first place, whatever that vote may be numerically, it never could reach the requisite notch, and the quality would be such that the Party would be queered forever, and would die out malodorously. The Socialist Labor Party will move on for a while yet on "short rations," and it proposes to keep on that tack till itself has raised the requisite crop that, admitted into its ranks, will impart to it the necessary strength—mental, physical and moral—to fulfill its task. The S. L. P. is justly "fastidious." It takes into its system only the very best "food;" tainted food it discards calmly, serenely and firmly.

CORRESPONDENCE

[CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.]

THE COLLINS-RENNER EPISODE.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—On October 12, John Collins, member of Machinists' Union and bogus Socialist from Chicago, was introduced to me by Henry Hering, S. P. After the usual preliminary introduction, the following dialogue between Collins and the undersigned took place:

Collins: Comrade R., I came here to see whether it is possible to unite the members of the S. L. P. and the S. P. into one section in this town. I came to you because I thought you would be most influential in this matter. Can you tell me why the S. L. P. has dispensed with its section? Is it not due to the wrangling of different factions of Socialists? Do you not find that people get disgusted with the Socialists when they wrangle among themselves?

R.: This is very plain to me, and but natural. The motive factor of Socialism is, in the first stage, the stomach; when the stomach has been satisfied—before the logic of reasoning has sufficiently penetrated into the brains of the man—then the superficial reasoner becomes careless and disgusted because workingmen do not manifest a greater interest in the teachings of Socialism. As to our wrangling, that is only an outer form of excuse. Suppose there had been but one Socialist section, this temporary collapse of propaganda would have happened just the same.

I then cited the local condition of the town; the feud with the pure and simplers, or the S. P. freaks; I showed how we were driven by the whole push, including the cheap politician and grafter, to a standstill; and how our members were taken, one by one, by said push, by all sorts of ridicule and promises.

From there we drifted into the pure and simple trade union question. I denounced the pure and simplers most emphatically as frauds and of absolutely no benefit in the long run to the working class.

C.: I agree with you there, but if you say they are not beneficial you make a bad mistake. We machinists in Chicago work only nine hours a day; is this not a benefit?

R.: Why, of course it is, but you must measure the difference in time, say from 10 to 25 years.

C.: That's correct, it is rather a loss than a gain. But why is it, then, we cannot unite? I see we agree on this score; if it were not for that liar De Leon we would have been united long ago.

R.: I thought this would come. But have you any evidence to back up the accusation?

C.: Lots of it.

R.: Where is it? I suppose you can show it in every number of The People?

C.: Yes.

R.: Here they are (handing him a few copies of The Weekly and Sunday People).

C.: Well, I have not the time to look them all over.

R.: For my own benefit, take your time.

C. (after looking over the first copy he got hold of): Here it is, October 3, "Collins Shows the White Feather," signed Charles Pierson, Roanoke, Va., September 20.

After going into details of explanation, Collins showed, of course, that it was Pierson who showed the white feather.

R.: This lets De Leon out of the charge of being a liar; you must settle this with Pierson.

C.: Why, this Pierson is the poorest speaker I ever heard; he kills the S. L. P. wherever he goes. In Chicago and Quincy, and everywhere he spoke, they are plumb disgusted with him.

R.: I suppose that is what you fellows want; he must be in your pay.

C.: Did you hear him speak?

R.: Yes, I went especially to Springfield to hear him.

C.: What do you think of him?

R.: I think he is a fair speaker, although I have heard better S. L. P. speakers. Pierson is specially engaged to canvass the State for the S. L. P. literature.

C.: Yes, for this he is all right. Why, this fellow has more gall than any other man I ever saw. He can sell lots where I haven't got a ghost of a chance. (He tried to sell a copy of "Britain for the British, America for Americans," by Robert Blatchford, but it was no go.)

R.: Have you any other evidence to show that De Leon is a liar?

C.: Yes, but I haven't got them with me; I'll go and get them. (Coming back with the leaflet, "What Is the Difference?"): See here how he lied about Johnson. Now, here is the evidence (shows copy of the "Chicago Socialist," in which Johnson made his plea for "honesty.")

R.: De Leon got his information from three Chicago capitalist papers. Where is your evidence to show that Johnson sent a reply to these papers repudiating the indorsement of the Municipal League Committee in the campaign last spring?

C.: My goodness, is not this enough evidence? But look here what the S. L. P. candidates did, three of them. (Shows list of the signers for the organization of the Referendum League.)

R.: Are you sure that they were candidates of the S. L. P.?

C.: Yes; can't you see, they signed with the followers of the other parties? But you don't see Johnson's name on the list.

R.: Are they members of the S. L. P. to-day?

C.: Yes.

R.: How much do you want to bet they are?

C.: I don't care about betting.

R.: Let us come back to the "Chicago Socialist" and see what Johnson has to say in this matter. He stated here plainly to a member of the Municipal League party, who went to the Pullman car works to inform him of his indorsement by that party: "The Socialists are not seeking for nominations or indorsements by the old parties." He stated, further, what the Socialists' objects were. This sounds all right, but in the silent language of thoughts, and verified by the action of the S. P., it means this: "The Socialists are not seeking for nominations or indorsements by the old parties, but when they come without seeking for them, they are all right!" And this lets De Leon again out of the charge of being a liar. Any other evidence?

C.: Yes, but it's no use to try to convince you.

On October 13, 15 and 17 Collins spoke to a fair audience. On the 19th we had a "unity" meeting. From the S. L. P. were present Heimlich, De Cartes, Lewis, Martis and Renner. After electing Heimlich as chairman for the meeting, Collins called upon Renner to give his opinion as to the advisability of a union of the Socialists.

R. took the floor and said: "While it is the intention of the S. L. P. to organize with the former members of the S. L. P., I can only speak for myself, and tell how I look at the matter; the others present can then express their own personal opinions. The S. L. P. maintains that whenever an organization is founded on false economic principles, wrong tactics must necessarily follow; and we maintain that the S. P. and the trades unions pure and simple teach false economics, and their tactics must naturally be detrimental to the best interests of the working class. I need not go far for proof. On the public square, one of your listeners, not having been convinced by the talk of Collins, said: 'I don't see how you can bring Socialism about. You cannot take the property away from the capitalists.' After some wrangling with the man, one of your followers, an old-timer, said: 'No, we do not intend to take this away from them; let them keep it. Suppose we build a parallel line of railroad in opposition to the capitalist, and pay the men good wages and treat them better, how long do you suppose this capitalist could hold out?' If this reasoning is correct, let us follow it out to its logical conclusion. After we have obtained the railroads by that means, we will need mines and factories. So we dig and build them in opposition to the capitalist and freeze him out. After this we will have to go up to the clouds to get land to produce our foodstuffs and raw material. But this is not all; we want navigation, too. We then go up to Mars and look for our waterways.

Here I was interrupted by "Who said this?" After I told who it was, they said he was not one of them.

I replied: Well, let us take up Collins, then. After one of his speeches, in reply to a question, he said that capital was unpaid labor. If that is correct, why had we no capitalist class under the Roman Empire and the feudal system? Is there no difference between the modern robber class and the old?

They sang out in chorus: "What is it?"

Turning to Collins, I asked him if he ever read the speech LaSalle made forty years ago. He said no.

I replied: Better read it, then. You will find that he is very explicit in stating the difference between the old and the modern capitalist.

Again, after Collins had been hammering away to show the workingman how to vote, he said: "The working man is more stupid than a mule. You ask whether I can prove my assertion. I say yes. Suppose there are 100 mules in a mine, and the proprietor brings them up and puts them in a nice clover patch to help themselves. But one of the mules steps up and says to the other 99: 'Here, all this before me is mine, and you 99 step back in the corner behind me.' Do you not think that the 99 would kick his mulish brains out? Most certainly they would. I think I have proven my assertion."

I started to answer, but Collins jumped up, saying: "Mr. Chairman, Renner is out of order. We came here to bring about harmony, but it looks as if he wanted to do all he can to bring discord. In all his talk he shows that he came with that intention; there is nothing but accusation and slander."

The chairman ruled that it was the object of the meeting to discuss the advisability of a union, but thought that the time should be limited to five minutes each.

De Cartes got up and stated that the only argument the other side brought forward was that De Leon was a liar, but that so far none of these so-called lies had been proven to be lies. He said what we wanted was proof; there could be no harmony when there was no harmony of thought and action. Collins said that he had the proof with him, and pulled out the same document he had previously shown me, and nothing else.

Here the only "important" referendum freak and sca-a-ab shouter, Henry Hering, jumps up to correct me in my statements concerning the private ownership of papers and other literary matter practiced in the S. P. As proofs, I had cited the example of the New York Volkszeituung, and the Kangaroo episode, also the part which the Chicago push took, and denounced them as deadbeats and dishonorable men.

He denied that the facts were as I had stated them, saying that he had been told better by a former S. L. P. man. I interrupted this fellow by asking: "Did you belong to the S. L. P. then?" "No." "Then keep your mouth shut." He drifted then to the Seidenburg spectre. Here De Castro made a motion to adjourn; carried.

I was sorry this motion was made and carried, for I had then my best knife sharpened. For the benefit of the S. P. and the readers of The People, let me produce it. At one time this Hering was approached by my son, who asked him to read a number of The Weekly People, wherein the Seidenburg spectre was reproduced. "No," he said, "I don't want to read it; that's a De Leon lie, and I don't want to read any of his lies."

Now, this very fellow stated in the meeting that he had read The People for three years, and that he wasn't the least bit prejudiced against reading it. But the truth of the matter is this: We knowing too well that he was the "important" of his kind, paid for his sub. during the three years.

Collins, in reply to my criticism, said: "I am as honest as you or any S. L. P. man."

Let me give you a proof of their "honesty." In talking matteers over with Collins, I denounced Klenke and Wanhope as fakes, and gave him instances of proof gathered from personal interviews with them.

"What," said Collins, "Wanhope, our best man, a fakir?"

"Yes," I said. "Let me give you the reason. Suppose, through circumstances, you are driven to a point of hopeless despair, due to your activity for Socialism. At this time a great inducement is offered you to better your condition, providing you cease your agitation for Socialism. Would you surrender your duty to Socialism and accept the inducement?"

"That all depends on circumstances."

"Circumstances or no, answer."

"I would accept the inducement. I do not have to surrender my principles. When I had bettered my condition I would go back to my former activity."

I said: "You would be able to do it. And do you suppose that we can bring about a successful Revolution with such men as this? Have you even the slightest conception of the task before us?"

But he only said: "We are not so far yet."

G. Renner.

Jacksonville, Ill., Nov. 8.

DOES MACHINERY DISPLACE LABOR?

To The Daily and Weekly People:—For the benefit of those who claim that machinery does not displace labor, I wish to cite the following instance:

In the year 1895 or '96, the New York Condensed Milk Co. established one of its largest plants in the town of New Berlin, N. Y.

The capacity of the plant was 100,000 cans per day. The cans were made by hand, the company paying $1 per thousand. The average can-maker could make 4,000 per day, or $4 per day. It required 25 men to produce 100,000 cans per day, at a daily expense of $100.

In the spring of 1897 the company introduced 5 body machines, with a capacity of from 18,000 to 20,000 per day. What was the result? Simply this, viz.:

First, that 5 men, with the modern labor-saving machinery, could produce as much work in 10 hours as 25 formerly produced by hand.

Second, it threw 20 men out of work, at a loss of $80 per day in wages.

Third, that those kept to run the machines were cut from $4 per day to $1.50. Thus the employed lost $12 in wages.

Fourth, the company saved, at the expense of the wage slave, $92.50 per day.

The above are facts. I was an employe, and am familiar with the situation. Thus, to draw my conclusions, I find that the above case is not uncommon, under the present capitalist system of production.

The only way for the proletarian class to fight the robber capitalist class is to cast his lot with the Socialist Labor Party, and secure the machinery of production for the benefit of the people as a whole.

I wish to quote from a poem, written by M. D. Fitzgerald, entitled:

"Vote for Us."

"Awake! Awake! ye servile slaves,
"And be no longer dumb;
"Behold! the Socialist Banner waves!
"Awake! Arise! Your hour has come!"

Very true is the above. The Socialist banner is unfurled, and the hour has come for every Revolutionary Socialist to fall into line for the Presidential campaign in 1904.

Albert L. Waterman.

Dorchester, Mass., Nov. 30.

SERRATI'S CONTEMPT FOR WORKING CLASS INTELLIGENCE.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Having read in the columns of The People G. M. Serrati's evolution from "neutral" Socialist to a henchman of Gompers and an associate editor on a capitalist sheet, permit me to say a few words apropos of it.

It recalled to my mind a discussion which several Italian comrades and myself had with Mr. Serrati in the clubrooms, at 82 McDougal street, a little over a year ago, the subject under discussion being general party matters, and Serrati's pet scheme of a federation, with the immigrant's labor secretariat and the co-operative enterprises as tails to his kite.

In the midst of a heated argument, Serrati stated that the trouble with the Italian comrades was that they knew too much, that they would all write their little letters, and then, as if he realized his mistake, he stopped short and tried to switch onto another subject. The above was remarked by others besides myself, and thought rather strange. Time hes, at last, proven that the conclusions which I arrived at then were no idle dreams, and I am sorry to see that so many Italians were led astray by such an individual.

But let us hope that if they lacked experience in the past, they will now open their eyes and realize that the "narrow," "intolerant" way of the S. L. P. is the only way that will emancipate all of the workers (the Italians included) from wage slavery. All other ways, Serrati's included, lead into the capitalist camp, where there is a job or sinecure for the traitor and slaughter for the dupes.

Italians, out upon such as he!

E. J. Gallo.

West Hoboken, N. J., Dec. 1.

PIERSON IN TEXAS.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed you will find list of subs. (13 Weekly and 1 Monthly) taken at Fort Worth for the four days ending November 28.

I held a very good meeting Thanksgiving afternooon, and another the Saturday night following, disposing of quite a number of books and leaflets.

A little bunch of "Appeal to Reason" freaks attended the last meeting I held. They were well pleased with my talk except two things, and those were that I should not have talked so about the Social Democratic party and poor Mr. Wayland.

I allowed one of their number the privilege to try and defend his party by taking the box. Instead of making any defense, he tried the brotherly love racket; in other words, he believes that the Socialist Labor Party and the Social Democratic party should come together. He kept this up for about ten minutes, and then retired. I asked him what he thought of Comrade De Leon before leaving. Here is the answer he gave: "I believe Mr. De Leon to be one of the very best men we have in the movement in this country, and so does every other intelligent workingman think the same."

This is one of the very few of the Kangaroos that I have met that would admit as much as the above.

Will be here in Dallas four days, and hope for better success.

Fraternally yours, Chas. Pierson.

Dallas, Texas, Nov. 29.

THE HOMESTRETCH FUND.

I.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed is a money order for fifty dollars, and that amount in pledges for the Homestretch Fund. We have more pledges coming, and some good for dates in December, but we concluded to count none good except those actually paid. I have on hand pledges for seventy dollars; will make another remittance next week.

We have had several letters from Sections in answer to our circular, one from Salt Lake giving us pointed information as to methods for securing subscribers, and one from Comrade Chase, dwelling on the same subject, was referred to the Section by the State Committee.

"Our" city is filling up for the winter, and one or two comrades are dropping down from other places, which will jerk us up a little, I hope, and make Section Los Angeles occupy a better place in the list than heretofore.

Yours fraternally, H. Norman,
Organizer Section L. A.

Los Angeles, Cal., Nov. 28.

II.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed please find $2.50—50 cents for renewal of Weekly People subscription; $2 to wipe out debt of plant.

Wishing you continued success, and that you will wipe out that debt by the first of year, and hoping that I may be able to send more before the first of year for that purpose, I remain, F. R., Jr.

St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 30.

III.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed will find one dollar for "Homestretch Fund." I will try and send more later on. As I only make one dollar a day, I cannot do very much, but will do my best. Wishing you the fullest success, I remain, yours sincerely, Bunny.

St. Nicholas avenue, N. Y., Dec. 1.

IV.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed please find three dollars for "Daily People Homestretch Fund."

Fellow wage-workers, your emancipation from wage slavery demands a weapon with which to fight the oppressor. The most potent weapon is "scientific knowledge," based on "class lines," and the best means by which every workingman may come in possession of this weapon is through the Party press. Let us, therefore, remove the debt which endangers it, so that our battery can have free play in the coming Presidential election.

The Comrades of the land of ice and snow reaching to icebergs, and the midnight sun, where capitalism rocks in the cradle of its infancy, send fraternal greetings to all. Yours faternally,

Gus. A. Maves, Sec. Toronto, S. L. P.

Toronto, Ont., Dec. 1.

V.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed please find two dollars, payment on Homestretch Fund.

Next in importance to our meagre necessities of life is the emancipation of our class. When I read in last week's People of a Comrade sacrificing his savings for a barrel of flour in order to help pay off The People's debt it took my breath away. I would urge all Comrades and earnest sympathizers to contribute toward this important goal. Yours fraternally, Geo. Dingwall.

Toronto, Ont., Nov. 30.

CARL MORBY.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—It is with profound sorrow that we report the death of Comrade Carl Morby, which occurred on October 5, 1903, at the early age of twenty-seven years.

Comrade Carl Morby was working in a grading camp on the Moffat road. He was kicked by a horse, and died three days later.

There was nothing in his possession that would give us a clue as to the whereabouts of his parents or relatives. Any information regarding the whereabouts of his parents or relatives will be thankfully received by this Section.

In Morby's death the S. L. P. loses one of its most active members and a stanch supporter of the Party's principles. He will live long in the memory of the Comrades of Colorado.

Committee Section Denver, S. L. P., Room 15, Good Block, Denver, Col.—A. Ohman, C. F. Leach, C. U. Starkenberg.

Denver, Col., Nov. 26.

TO THE COMRADES OF SECTION BOSTON.

Only one more month remains in which to obtain subscriptions for The Weekly People for the prize offered by the State Executive Committee of Massachusetts. It is to be expected that the Comrades of Boston will realize the necessity of rolling up a large number of subs. during the last month of the year, thereby demonstrating to the other Sections of the State that we are ahead at the finish.

Remember, Comrades, that in addition to the prize which we will capture from the State Committee, that Section Boston will award to the member bringing in the largest number of subs. a $5 fountain pen; one year's sub. to The Daily People to the member with the next largest list, and a cloth-bound copy of Marx's Capital to the third.

So all up and hustle for the Homestretch. Yours fraternally,

Frank Bohmbach,
Literary Agent.

DE LEON IN TROY.

Comrades of the S. L. P. and readers of The People in Troy, Albany, Rensselaer, Watervliet and Schenectady, take notice:

Daniel De Leon will lecture at Tibbitt's Veteran Hall, 303 River street, Troy, N. Y., on Sunday, December 13, at 3 p. m., subject, "A Bona Fide Labor Press." Admission will be ten cents.

The lecture is held for the purpose of raising $100 for the Daily People Homestretch Fund. Its success depends on the amount of work each and every comrade and sympathizer in the vicinity does. You have the tickets—leave no stone unturned! Let the watchword be, "Hustle!" Committee.

A LOVE SONG.

(Air—"Believe Me If All Those Endearing Young Charms."—Moore.)

Written for The People by Jas. Connolly.

I love you, I love you, though toil may obscure
Or make colder the light of my eye,
Though stiff grow my limbs, and my heart, if as pure,
Beats calmer when Woman is nigh;
Yet out from my heart comes that most passionate wail,
With a note of sincerity true,
The protest of that heart, though its vigor may fail,
Yet grows stronger its love, dear, for you.

I love you, I love you; no swain to his dear,
Nor mother to first fruit of her womb,
Nor thinker to the fruits he has garnered in tears
From the desert where Truth sits in gloom,
Hath love so devoted, as unfailing as he
Now laying this poor wreath at your shrine,
In hope that deemed worthy that offering may be,
And remembered when Victory is thine.

Yes, Freedom, I love you; my soul thou hast fired
With the flame that redeems from the clay,
And hath given to me, as to Moses inspired,
A glimpse of that land bright as day,
Where Labor shall journey through each foot of the road—
Sweated blood from the graves of our best—
Where, built upon Justice and Truth, the abode
Of sweet Freedom awaits the oppressed.

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

[NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.]

W. J. F., NORTH ADAMS, MASS.—Victory is a touchstone of the sincerity of the victors, and of the quality of the victory. If the Socialist Labor Party's platform is carried in the country, the attitude of the Party would be to immediately dethrone capitalism. Now, apply the principle to the hypothesis that the Social Democrats had carried their nine resolutions presented at the convention of the A. F. of L. If it was a real victory, and the victors were sincere, then pure and simpledom would be forthwith thrown down; legislative committees would be squelched; Miller debates would be snuffed off; label peculations would be burned to death; the Mitchells and their ilk would be bounced for their labor-lieutenancy to capitalists., etc., etc. Does any sane man imagine such results would have followed. The Social Democrats are frauds. And as frauds they were bound to be caught either way. If beaten, as they were, their last year's gold-brick was exposed; if victorious, they would have been even worse beaten, by the manifest continuance of pure and simpledom; and their fraudulency would have been exposed from another side.

G. T. L., RUTLAND, VT.—The limited facilities of this office—depriving it of the necessary space and the necessary personnel to administer such space—renders impossible the keeping of manuscripts beyond a limited time. As you twice before had the floor on the matter, and as no other letters came in on the matter, thereby justifying the conclusion that the Party had enough of it, and preferred the space of its organ to be otherwise taken up, your manuscript went the way of other manuscripts at the necessary periodical clearing-up in the office. If you desire to take the floor again, be kind enough to re-write the article and forward it to the N. E. C. This office does not feel free to give the floor three or more times to one member without orders from the N. E. C.

P. M., HOUSTON, TEX.—"Il Proletario" is not with the S. L. P. In theory it is "independent." In fact it is with the Kangaroos. Serrati went that way imagining he could save the paper. As the difficulties, financial and otherwise, that he sought to evade rather thickened upon him than otherwise by that dodge, he decamped to a so-called "radical Republican paper" in San Francisco. An S. L. P. paper upholds, not only S. L. P. tactics, but the S. L. P. ticket, and that only. "Il Proletario" does not do that, hence is not an S. L. P. paper.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN—If there is nothing to indicate the sender of clippings, their receipt cannot be acknowledged at the bottom of this column.

D. D., NEW YORK—Unable to tell what the "mysterious hand" is that cracked the whip which brought Democrats and Republicans in Congress to line up with the Cuban reciprocity bill The Sugar Trust cannot be alone. Boodle from other sources must have been also.

C. C. W., TORONTO, CANADA—Novelettes like that are interesting and welcome. Yours was in last Sunday's People.

D. M., NEW YORK—Neither can a translation of Bebel's Dresden speech be made yet, nor the review of the Dresden congress be published, as yet. The German papers you sent have very extensive reports of the speeches, but these are frequently selected passages of selected speeches. Bebel's speech will have to be translated from the official report. As to the review of the congress, it is ready. But neither can it be published without verifying the passages quoted from the speeches—and that means to wait for the official report. It will all "keep," and will all be all the more interesting reading by the light of the conduct of the Social Democratic Reichstag delegation in nominating a candidate for Vice-President after the declarations made at Dresden against the office.

T. S., BRADDOCK, PA—Wonder not at the "wholesale demoralization plainly visible among the Kangaroos." A man cannot habitually slander another and not himself suffer in character. When the Kangs denounce the S. L. P. as bribed by the capitalist class, they don't believe it themselves. A man can't lie habitually and not become demoralized.

J. W. R., TORONTO, CANADA—1. Our correspondent seems to have erred. The official report issued by the A. F. of L. for the sixth day of the convention enters Mitchell and the other miners' delegates as voting in favor of the amendment appropriating $1,000 for the Western Federation of Miners.

2. Your "kick" on "Merrie England" is referred to the Labor News Co.

3. You do not state facts sufficient to justify a conclusion in the premises. The question of elections is a ticklish one in the bona fide Socialist Movement. Unguardedness, on one side, may lead to a fishing for votes at the sacrifice of principle; too strict a posture, so strict as to lean backward, on the other side, may deprive the movement of agitational opportunities. The measure to be adopted must, in each instance, be decided on, first, with an eye to the goal that electoral campaigns are but a means to,—thorough education, thorough drilling in the Social Question; and, second, by the material circumstances. These are different in different places.

D. B. W., BOSTON, MASS.—None of that! The so-called Socialist delegates at the A. F. of L. convention "have no kick coming" that their opponents "studiously ignored principle and indulged merely in personal attacks." No doubt such tactics in discussion are base; but the so-called Socialists should be the last to complain on that score. It is their way of discussing with the S. L. P. Arguments they never use; they have none; they only use personal vilification. The conduct of their representative, Harriman, in the De Leon-Harriman New Haven debate is a monumental illustration in point. And they are so proud of it that they have themselves issued a report of the affair. Get a copy.

F. H., WASHINGTON, D. C.—Wear your soul in patience. The "democracy" of Wayland, as revealed by the recent strike in his office, will be duly embalmed in cold type in these columns. Other more pressing,—more pressing for the time being—affairs have crowded that aside, temporarily.

H. T., DENVER, COLO.—In so far as the protest of the Massachusetts S. E. C. refers to the Labor News Co., we are not able to say who is at fault. It depends upon the correspondence exchanged between the two.

In so far as the protest refers to the Editor of The People, it is another instance of his martyrdom. If he rigorously enforces his judgment and rejects matter sent in for publication, then the senders hold indignation mass meetings and resolute him a Czar. If he relents, he gets it in the neck from the other side. No martyr, in the long catalogue of canonized martyrs, is in it with him. It must be admitted, however, that the matter complained of, and which was sent by Massachusetts members for publication, should not have been published in The People—but are you up in your Horace? "Aliquando dormitat Homerus."

J. B., CENTRAL FALLS, R. I.—We have no way of ascertaining the safety of investments in the C. E. Rand Company. A workingman had better stay away from such things. "The best throw of the dice is to throw them away."

J. J. D., PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Matter promised in letter has not arrived. Would like to get it. However imperfect, may help.

"OHIO SOCIALIST PUBLISHING ASS'N," DAYTON, O.—Yours is a privately owned concern. After recent revelations on "Appeal to Reason" and "New Yorker Volkszeitung," it should be superflous to explain why a militant Socialist should not contribute to such concerns with pen or cash. Exchange gladly established.

B. T. RUTLAND, VT.—Be not rash in judgment. Serrati, like most men, is not made up of one feature. There are three leading elements in the man. 1st, and to begin with, best of intentions; 2d, fathomless ignorance; and 3d, vanity. Mix up these three ingredients and you get the man who, only shortly here from Italy, without knowledge of the language or the land, young in years and younger in experience, imagined he could "straighten up the movement," and sailed in to do so. Beyond that, of course, looms the fakir. But it is not as fakir that he started.

D. S. H., Cincinnati, O.—The "day of the vote" is not yet. May be at hand, but not yet here. Beyond measure visionary is that revolutionary movement that trims its propaganda to the "vote breeze." Solid instruction, "man-building" instruction is the call of the hour. When the time comes, the voter will be there.

M. L. M., NEW YORK—Take our advice and take it quickly. Clip and preserve all the items of prosperity that the Republican and Democratic papers publish, and all their editorial blowings thereon. Clip them and paste them up in a scrap-book, as fast as you run across them. They will make interesting reading, eventually if not sooner.

D. B., NEW YORK—History is one thing, slush another. Then, also, Yiddish may be quite elegant, even pathetic; for instance, Rosenfeld's poems. But English in Yiddish is simply idiotic. Mr. Moses Hilkowitz, alias Morris Hilquit's performance is of this nature.

E. S. C., CHICAGO, ILL.—You got the idea twisted. The objection is not to the superficial knowledge of these alleged "Socialist" party editors. The objection is to their insistance that only ignoramuses should be heard, and that whosoever is better posted and knows more must be denounced as a "boss," if not a "horse-thief and a liar."

E. E. V., NEW YORK—What the census calls "net earnings" is not the "net earnings" that Socialists mean. The census includes in "net earnings" the value of the raw material. On that principle, there is no reason why wages (Labor) should not also be included. The census nevertheless furnishes the figures that enable one to ascertain the real "net earnings," that is, the new values produced by Labor and filched by the capitalist class as profit.

D. C. W., BALTIMORE, MD.—In the first place, as above to D. S. H., Cincinnati, O. In addition to that, do you realize what it means to lean on votes? It means to place the pulse of your enthusiasm in the keeping of the capitalist, the very class you would overthrow. It could raise or lower your pulse at will, by raising or lowering your vote. Remember he does the counting. Reliance must be placed on the quantity and the solidity of educational material that's spread upon the waters, and the demand therefor. Hence the S. L. P. pulse beats high.

L. E., BRANTFORD, ONT.; J. E., AKRON, O.; C. W. F., NEW YORK; C. B. W., NEW HAVEN, CT.; N. H., BOSTON, MASS.; E. W. W., BALTIMORE, MD.; C. S. S., ALLEGHANY, PA.; K. R., NEW ORLEANS, LA.; J. C. O., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.; H. S., NEW YORK; F. J. P., NEW YORK; B. N., PAWTUCKET, R. I.; T. J., NEW YORK; C. W., JERSEY CITY; W. W., NEW YORK; C—D, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.; J. O'F., ABINGTON, MASS.; F. S. C., NEW HAVEN, CT.; "TWO WAYS," CLEVELAND, O.; "BOX 256," TACOMA, WASH.; M. B., LYNN, MASS.; E. C. S., ROANOKE, VA.—Matter received.

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, C. A. Weitzel, 256½ Dundas street, London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City. (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice—For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays. 10 p. m.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE CIMMITTEE.

Regular meeting held on December 4 at 2-6 New Reade street. A. Gillhaus in the chair. Absent and execused, because engaged upon preparatory work for the S. T. & L. A. convention, John J. Kinneally. The financial report showed receipts of $71.08; expenditures, $39.92.

The Special Committee on complaint of Massachusetts S. E. C. against the Labor News Company rendered report which was upon motion concurred in and the Secretary instructed to convey findings to the complainants.

The vote on delegate to S. T. & L. A. convention was canvassed. A very light vote had been cast, many Sections not voting, others casting but a small vote. The result stood: Samuel French, 369 votes; John D. Goercke, 161 votes; William Bilsbarrow, 82 votes. Samuel French having received the highest number of votes, was declared elected and the Secretary instructed to issue credentials.

Communications: From Baltimore, Md., sending some money for The Daily People Homestretch Fund, explaining the steps taken to make that fund a success and expressing the hope that the Party would rid itself of the debt on the plant so as to have its hands free for the coming campaign. From Vancouver, B. C., asking for information about one Charles E. Becker, who had joined the Section, remained there for a time and had since left town, leaving also an unsatisfied claim against him to the amount of $16; Secretary instructed to reply that no Charles E. Becker is known at this end, but a number of indications point to the fact that the said Becker is identical with one J. Wilson Becker, who is very much and not favorably known here. From Philadelphia, Pa., sending money for the Homestretch Fund. Ditto from Peekskill, N. Y., with request for information about Il Proletario. Same information is asked for from Bridgeport, Conn. The Secretary had replied that the paper in question is not an S. L. P. paper and does not deserve the support of S. L. P. men. Approved. From Perkinsville, Vt., relative to local work and efforts made for the Party press. From Collinsville, Ill., asking that a loan certificate be transferred to Homestretch Fund and asking for informations.

Other communications, bearing upon local agitation, matters connected with the Homestretch Fund, etc., were received from Washington, D. C.; Detroit, Mich.; Los Angeles, Cal.; Denver, Col.; New Haven, Conn.; Salt Lake City, Utah; Troy, N. Y., and a number of other points.

Adjournment followed.

Edward C. Schmidt,
Recording Secretary.

MASSACHUSETTS S. E. C.

Regular meeting Massachusetts State Executive Committee Socialist Labor Party, held Sunday, November 22, 1903.

Session called to order by the chairman, John R. Oldham. Roll call showed Oldham, Coyle, Hagan, Berry, Ruger, Young and Neilsen present; and Greenman, Chester and Hellberg absent. Records of previous meeting read and approved.

Communications:

From Lowell, on internal party matters. Filed.

From National Secretary Henry Kuhn, on the exception of Section Everett to Article III. of State Confernce Propositions, which was adopted by the party. Filed.

From National Secretary Henry Kuhn, on the matter of $100 loan. Accepted for new business.

From Scandinavian Socialist Club, stating that it had elected a suitable committee, etc., to act with committee from the party, in running a fair or other entertainment, later in the season, for the benefit of The Daily People. Loan certificate plan adopted by the party by referendum vote, and advancing $150 for furtherance of the prospect, and stating that one-fourth of the receipts were to go to the Arbetaren and three-fourths to the Party, the loan of $150 to be paid back when the affair was over. Accepted for new business.

From Labor News Co., on bill due for literature. Accepted for new business.

From National Secretary Henry Kuhn, sending Homestretch Fund pledge blanks for distribution among the Party Sections and members. Secretary to attend to same.

From Section Lowell, sending $1 for Carroll Defense Fund. Accepted, and communication filed.

Auditing Committee reported on the bill of Michael T. Berry for campaign expenses. The report was accepted as audited.

Financial Secretary Coyle reports that he has written several Sections with reference to the organizer plan, and reports on work done. Accepted as progress. Financial secretary also reports that he is trying his best to hustle the Sections on The Weekly People contest matter. Accepted as progress.

Berry, for the committee to draft new resignation blank, reported that he had not had time to attend to same. Report accepted and further time granted the committee. Agitation Committee, through Enger, reported on the work throughout the State, and the same was accepted for new business.

Recording Secretary reports that he has sent out call for the nomination of secretary, treasurer and committee for 1904. Accepted as progress.

Report of the secretary, who issued challenge to Gompers endorsed.

Secretary ordered to write secretary of N. E. C. in detail on the $100 loan.

In the matter of the Scandinavian Socialist Club and the holding of a fair for the benefit of The People, it was voted to hold a fair later in the season, and John Sweeny, of Cambridge; Frank J. Callan, of Boston; Thos. P. Gallagher, of Lynn; Louis H. Englehardt, of Everett; Frank Bombach, of Boston; H. C. Hess, of Boston; Jos. Monaghan, of Boston, and Michael Tracey, of Lynn, were elected as the committee from the S. L. P. to act with the committee from the Scandinavian Socialist Club in the matter, the secretary to notify each of them, and if they decline, the Sections of which they are members to fill their places at once. The committee was requested to meet at 1165 Tremont street, Friday evening, December 4.

Treasurer ordered to turn over to the Agitation Committee $20.

Treasurer ordered to pay on bill of Labor News Co. as fast as possible.

Adjourned.

Michael T. Berry, Secretary.
99 1-2 Chestnut street, Lynn, Mass.

MISSOURI S. E. C.

Meeting of Missouri S. E. C., St. Louis, Mo., December 2. William Bilsbarrow in the chair. Absent and excused, H. J. Poelling and C. Grupp. Minutes of previous meeting approved as read.

Communications: From Danforth, Mo., enclosing $1 for State Agitation Fund; from Mindon Mines, Mo., enclosing $1 for Homestretch Fund; from R. H. McHugh, of St. Charles, Mo., ordering literature and pledging $10 for Homestretch Fund; from O. M. Haward, of Kansas City, Mo., pertaining to conditions there; from State Organizer Pierson, regarding Kansas City, St. Joe, Moberly, Sedalia and Springfield, Mo., and reporting meetings held, literature sold, subs taken, etc.; from a sympathizer of Omaha, Neb., acknowledging receipt of literature sent and expressing his willingness to continue in the work; from Comrade McFall, of Kansas City, Mo., depicting conditions there; from W. W. Cox, Secretary of Illinois S. E. C., asking for a joint meeting of Missouri and Illinois S. E. C. with a view of formulating a plan of agitation.

Bills: From Labor News Company, $3.50; from Labor News Company, $4; from Labor News Company, $3; from E. O. Dieckmann, $3.74, and from The Daily and Weekly People, $6.05. Ordered paid.

Secretary reports having received Homestretch Fund blanks and sent same to members and Sections throughout the state, and had answered various communications.

Motion adopted to instruct Secretary of Illinois S. E. C. that in view of the fact that the term of office of the present Missouri S. E. C. expires December 31, we deem it inadvisable to act on their proposition. Same will be referred to new S. E. C. in January, 1904.

Motion adopted to order 1,000 assorted leaflets sent to R. H. McHugh, of St. Charles, Mo.

Motion adopted to send reply to Torch of Reason, of Kansas City, Mo.

Financial Report: Previously on hand, $6.72; receipts, $5.87; expenditures, $10.84; balance on hand, $1.75.

H. M. Graber, Recording Secretary.

"THE CRIPPLE CREEK STRIKE."

Philip Veal, a miner, lately returned from the seat of the class war in Colorado, will speak on the above subject, under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party, Section St. Louis, at Walhalla Hall, Tenth and Franklin avenue, Saturday, December 12, 8 p. m. William Knight, of Pueblo, Colo., and others will also address the meeting.

Wm. Bilsbarrow, Organizer.

SECTION PAWTUCKET, ATTENTION

All members are requested to attend meeting Section Pawtucket, Saturday, December 12, 8 p. m.

Election of officers and matters of importance relative to S. E. C. to be acted upon.

Our headquarters are always open, and all friends are invited to drop in.

Robt. Webster, Secretary.

DETROIT, MICH., ATTENTION!

The Karl Marx Speakers' Club of Detroit, Mich., meets every Saturday night, at 8 o'clock, at 4 Clinton street, for the study of Socialism as taught by Marx. You and your friends are cordially invited.

SECTION MONROE COUNTY.

Section Monroe County has opened up headquarters in Webber's Hall, Sanford, corner of Poplar, street, and will hold a series of lectures on Sundays at 3 p. m. Readers are cordially invited to attend and become acquainted with the party members and also become acquainted with the work of the organization.

We are getting our buzzsaw ready for the campaign of 1904.

On with the campaign of 1904!

Section meets every Thursday night at headquarters. Press Committee,

Section Monroe County, S. L. P.

CHANCE FOR IRON MOLDERS.

I wish to communicate with an active comrade who would want to locate here. Must be an iron molder, stove molder, carpenter or plumber.

Charles Zolot,
1511½ Main street, Peekskill, N. Y.

THANKSGIVING DAY CONCERT.

Received from M. Heyman, treasurer entertainment committee of Section New York, on account, $350.

THE DAILY PEOPLE HOME-STRETCH FUND.

UNDER THIS HEAD WILL BE PUBLISHED ALL DONATIONS MADE FOR THE LAST FINAL EFFORT TO CLEAR UP THE BALANCE OF THE DEBT ON THE DAILY PEOPLE PRINTING PLANT. THAT BALANCE, ON NOVEMBER 15, WAS $4,643, PLUS INTEREST. WATCH AND SEE HOW THE FIGURES OF THE "HOMESTRETCH FUND" GET UP TO IT.

Previously acknowledged	$306.00
E. Singewald, South Norwalk	3.00
C. Singer, Pittsburg, Pa.	3.00
D. N. Schonleber, Jersey City	1.00
J. Hammer, City	1.00
Chas. Hillwitz, City	3.00
F. Pophusen, City	3.00
S. Freed, City	1.00
D. Simpson, City	2.00
J. Shaffer, City	1.00
M. Schreiber, City	3.00
H. Gottlieb, City	3.00
S. Stiller, City	3.00
J. Span, City	3.00
H. Druckser, City	.50
D. Baer, City	2.00
C. Kohlenberger, Marion, Ind.	5.00
E. J. Dillon, Marion, Ind.	5.00
J. Loven, Marion, Ind.	2.00
A. C. Waterman, Stamford, Conn.	4.50
J. Rosenblum, City	1.00
J. Hines, City	1.00
F. B. Sullivan, City	1.00
O. Barthels, City	1.00
Louis Horwitz, City	3.00
Louis Brigadier, City	.50
Thos. Paine Lit. Soc., City	2.00
Thos. Thompson, Lincoln, Kan.	10.00
P. Stammer	3.00
L. Katz, Philadelphia	3.00
C. Zolot, Peekskill, N. Y.	2.00
A. B. Lafreniere, Moosup, Conn.	1.00
Jos. Duffy, Watervliet, N. Y.	10.00
J. M. Francis, Du Quoin, Ill.	3.00
J. B. Francis, Du Quoin, Ill.	1.00
O. E. Jones, Du Quoin, Ill.	1.00
Morris Jones, City	.25
Sol Mintz, City	1.00
L. Laarus, Brantford, Ont.	3.00
A. Gierginsky, Hartford, Conn.	3.00
A. Rossmeisl, Hartford	3.00
H. Huchstedt, Hartford	1.00
F. Lechner, Hartford	5.00
F. Hagg, Hartford	3.00
F. F., Hartford	5.00
H. Norman, Los Angeles, Cal.	10.00
A. E. Norman, Los Angeles, Cal.	10.00
H. Meyer, Chicago, Ill.	5.00
T. W. Davis, Chicago	3.00
W. Reisenberg, Chicago	2.00
Alf Johnson, New Britain, Conn.	3.00
J. D. Carlson, New Britain	1.50
K. Georgevitch, E. Pittsburg, Pa.	.81
J. Hossack, Jersey City	3.00
(T. A. D.) Cash, Troy, N. Y.	10.00
John Boyle, Newburg, N. Y.	1.00
John McGarvey, Newburg	1.00
A. Weinert, Newburg	1.00
H. Botjer, Newburg	1.00
Wildermuth, Troy, N. Y.	1.00
O. Beldner, Jamestown, N. Y.	.50
P. Faber, Grafton, Ohio	3.00
Henry Piper, Geneva, Ohio	3.00
Theo. Tresek, Philadelphia	2.00
R. Rarcher, Jr., St. Louis, Mo.	2.00
Geo. Dingwall, Toronto, Ont.	2.00
Geo. A. Maves, Toronto	3.00
Sam Bunny, City	1.00
Geo. Kessler, City	2.00
F. Pierson, City	3.00
J. Nelson, City	1.00
J. Sherer, City	1.00
L. C. Holler, Los Angeles, Cal.	10.00
Chas. Fick, Los Angeles	5.00
John Norman, Los Angeles	5.00
John Sigg, Los Angeles	5.00
C. Remke, Los Angeles	5.00
G. S. Hoffecker, Salt Lake City	5.00
Max Neuhaus, Brooklyn	1.00
Sol Gardman, Brooklyn	1.00
J. Larson, New Haven, Conn.	3.00
C. Sundberg, New Haven	1.00
C. Wells, New Haven	1.00
M. Stodel, New Haven	.50
H. K., New Haven	.26
H. Deschamps, City	5.00
Fred Isler, City	.50
Caroline Hoffman, Philadelphia	3.00
Sec. Richmond, Va., on acct.	10.00
A. Turoff, Washington, D. C.	1.00
F. Machoner, City	5.00
F. A. O., City	5.00
M. Sosan, City	.60
S. Graham, City	1.00
T. Holst, Rochester, Minn.	3.00
J. Hammer, City	1.00
F. Serrer, New Haven	1.00
W. Gilpin, Hoboken, N. J.	5.00
F. Hoffman, Montrose, Cal.	10.00
E. M. Dawes, Montrose, Cal.	5.00
D. Gerskovit, City	3.00
Progressive Soc. Club, City	6.50
S. Schwartman, City	1.00
M. Weinberger, City	.50
P. Walsh	3.00
J. Sweeney, Hoboken, N. J.	3.00
F. Pandorf, Hoboken	3.00
J. Eck, Hoboken	2.00
A. Herschmann, Hoboken	1.00
A. Schroeder, Hoboken	1.00
P. M. Jacobson, Brooklyn	2.00
John Hau, Brooklyn	2.00
A. C. Kihn, Brooklyn	5.00
Total	$634.42

The total pledged will be announced next week. The clerical work in hand has made it impossible for our office force to give the total to-day. There is an encouraging increase.

KENTUCKY S. L. P. VOTE.

Frankfort, Ky., Dec. 1.—The official count of the returns from the recent election in the State has been completed. Alfred Schmutz, S. L. P. candidate for Governor, received 615 votes.

S. T. & L. A. CONVENTION

FIRST DAY'S SESSION MARKED BY SPIRIT OF OPTIMISM.

Alliance Delegates at Newark Display Enthusiastic Confidence in Future of Movement—Get Right Down to Business—Committees Elected.

Newark, N. J., Dec. 7.—The first day's session of this, the Eighth Annual Convention of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, was marked by the spirit of optimism and enthusiastic confidence in the future of the Alliance, shown by those present, as well as the display of hearty comradeship and mutual desire to get together and faithfully perform the work of the convention without petty bickering, and lay plans for the future upbuilding of the organization that will place it in the position of strength it should and needs must eventually occupy.

The convention was called to order by General Secretary John J. Kinneally shortly after noon to-day at 78 Springfield avenue, the headquarters of the S. L. P.'s in this city.

Thomas J. Powers, of D. A. 19, Rhode Island, and C. L. Whaley, of D. A. 23, Maine, were elected as temporary chairman and vice-chairman respectively, their election being afterward made permanent for the day.

The report of the Committee on Credentials reported delegates present at time of opening as follows: District Alliance No. 4, New Jersey, Gustave Johnson; D. A. 17, Rhode Island, entitled to four delegates, two present, Thomas J. Powers and J. Hughes; D. A. 19, Massachusetts, F. A. Walsh and John W. Rylan; D. A. 21, Connecticut, J. P. Hallond; D. A. 22, Troy, N. Y., F. E. Passanno; D. A. 23, Maine, entitled to three, one present, C. L. Whaley; D. A. 49, New York city, three present, J. J. Kinneally, I. H. Weisberger and M. Unger. The Socialist Labor Party was represented by one delegate, Samuel French, of New York. D. A. 3, and the isolated locals in the South and West, all entitled to one or more deelgates, were not represented.

After the seating and pledging of the delegates, the following officers and committees were elected: Sergeant-at-arms, G. Johnson; Committee on Distribution, John J. Kinneally; Committee on Law, Ryan, Whaley and French; Committee on Appeals and Grievances, Hughes, Walsh and Hallond; on State and Organization, Unger, Hughes, Johnson, Powers and Passanno. Samuel French was elected as Press Committee.

The complete report of the General Executive Board was laid over until tomorrow's session, but the report of the general treasurer and that of the Finance Committee, who had audited the books, were submitted, the good showing of which was taken as an indication of the progress made during the past year.

A lengthy and comprehensive letter on conditions and prospects in Eastern Massachusetts, forwarded by the Organizer of D. A. 19, Lynn, was read. The letter was an encouraging one, and expressed the belief that the field for the Alliance in that vicinity is, because of the discontent among the shoe and textile workers, a good one. The request was also made that the next convention be held in the city of Lynn.

The reports of the delegates from Maine and Rhode Island showed that the Alliance has attained a healthy growth in those centres of the textile industry and during the discussion later upon the possibility of establishing National Industrial Alliances formed of the locals in each particular industry, as already provided for in the constitution as amended at last convention, all the delegates who spoke on the matter did so in an optimistic strain, and it was intimated that plans will later be made to provide for an aggressive campaign in the near future that will be bound to produce important results.

Some amendments to the constitution which had been submitted by D. A.'s 22 and 49 were turned over to the Law Committee, and a short discussion on the good and welfare of the organization was carried on before adjournment.

The convention adjourned to convene again tomorrow at 10 a. m.

PRESENTS FOR S. T. & L. A. FAIR.

All those interested in the success of the grand fair and ball to be held under the auspices of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, at Everett Hall, on Dec. 31 (New Year's Eve), and desiring to donate articles for the bazaar will please forward all presents to Jas. J. Hanlon, Organizer, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., 813 Park avenue, Brooklyn.

SECTION ERIE, PA.

Section Erie, S. L. P., desires to inform all Party members and readers of The People who sympathize with the principles of revolutionary Socialism that we have regular meetings at the Nickel Plate Hall, corner of Peach and Twentieth streets, on the first and third Sundays of each month.

At the next regular meeting, December 20, at 2 p. m., there will be an election of officers for the ensuing term, nomination of candidates for the coming municipal election and other business of urgent importance.

Every member should attend.

Organizer.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

Three hundred and seven subscriptions to The Weekly People were secured during the week ending Saturday, Dec. 5. This is better than the previous week. Make it better yet next week.

Comrade Steinhoff, of Columbus, O., writes that every member of the S. L. P. ought to get one subscriber a month. We wish to offer an amendment to this. In the course of a week almost every member comes in contact with hundreds of persons. Out of the large number of those he meets and talks to he should be able to induce one of them to spend fifty cents for that which he can least afford to be without—The Weekly People. So let's make it one subscription a week.

What would you think of a friend who would not ask you to become a reader of The Weekly People if you were not already one? Would he be doing his duty as a fellow worker? There are millions of working men in this country that have never been asked to subscribe for The Weekly People. All of them may not be willing to do so, but all of them should be given the opportunity. If you will lay the proposition before a few of them every week you will surely succeed in getting one subscriber a week.

Comrade Dufner, of Roslyn, Wash., sends in twelve yearly subscriptions to The Weekly People. He writes that after succeeding in getting them to understand that they must read The Weekly People to be well informed on the social question he feels sure the paper will do the rest.

Israel Spitz, of Salt Lake City, Utah., evidently knows he cannot get along without The Monthly People, so he subscribes for it for five years.

Section Denver, Colo., takes ten postal cards and one block of blanks; Section Albany, N. Y., and Norwalk, Conn., and the 16th-18th A. D., Brooklyn, one block each; Section Yonkers, N. Y., four blanks, and Leon Lazarus, Brantford, Ont., four blanks.

Five or more subscriptions were sent in by the following:

For the Weekly—34th A. D., New York, 14; Charles Pierson, Ft. Worth, Tex., 13; A. Quarnstrom, Boston, Mass., 9; Thomas H. Jackson, Buffalo, N. Y., 8; Leon Le Coste, New Orleans, La., 6; M. Meyer, Detroit, Mich., 6; Burt Surges, Vancouver, B. C., 6; H. Weiss, Brooklyn, N. Y., 6; E. Singewald, South Norwalk, Conn., 5; Otto Steinhoff, Columbus, O., 5; J. H. T. Juergens, Canton, O., 5; C. E. Hager, St. Louis, Mo., 5; Aug. Reiss, Buffalo, N. Y., 7.

For the Monthly—B. Reinstein, Buffalo, N. Y., 10; Ben Hilbert, Jr., Hamilton, O., 5; F. Kuelmar, St. Paul, Minn., 5. Total, 48.

The name of the person that subscriptions are to be credited to should be written after the words "Sent by" on prepaid blanks and after the words "Card sold by" on prepaid postal cards. If they are to be credited to a Section the name of the Section should be written in this space.

CLEVELAND (OHIO) LECTURES.

Section Cleveland, S. L. P., has arranged for the following lectures:

Sunday, December 20.—"Materialist Conception of History." Speaker, F. Hartman.

Sunday, January 3.—"Principles and Tactics of the S. L. P." Speaker, Paul Dinger.

Sunday, January 17.—"Why American Workingmen Should Be Socialists." Speaker, J. Wettstein.

Sunday, February 7.—"Evolution of Property." Speaker, John D. Goerke.

Sunday, February 21.—"Attitude of the S. L. P. Towards Trades Unionism." Speaker, F. Seymour.

Sunday, March 6.—"Effect of Machinery on the Working Class." Speaker, John Kircher.

These lectures take place at 3 p. m. at Section Hall, 356 Ontario street, top floor (German-American Bank Building). All workingmen and their friends and especially the readers of the Weekly People are cordially invited to attend. Admission free.

PHILADELPHIA LECTURES.

Lectures under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party will be held December 13, "The Labor Question," Joseph Campbell, at Dehren Hall, 2434 Kensington avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.

Lectures begin at 3 o'clock p. m. sharp. Comrades should see that these lectures are well attended.

G. E. B., S. T. & L. A.

Regular meeting of the G. E. B. was held Sunday afternoon, October 11, 1903, at 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

Meeting called to order at 3 o'clock.

General secretary reported that he had called the meeting for Sunday on account of all the members being engaged in the campaign and agitation work of the S. L. P. Action of secretary endorsed.

Comrade Chas. C. Crawford elected chairman. All members present.

Minutes of previous meeting read and adopted.

Financial report of general secretary and treasurer received and filed.

Communications:

From D. A. 22, with vote for delegate to convention, Comrade F. E. Passano, L. A. 398, having been elected; Patrick J. Burke, alternate delegate, L. A. 351.

From L. A.'s 263, Seattle, Wash.; 396, Sknowhegan, Me.; 342, Cleveland, O., with order for supplies, etc.; also D. A. 22, with mileage tax for L. A. 337, and order for stamps by the D. A. L. A. 394, Madison, Me., order for stamps.

From D. A. 49, asking for assistance in organizing Egg Candlers and Ladies' Tailors throughout the country. Action: Request granted, and locals in the industrial centres requested to co-operate.

From L. A. 398, Woonsocket, R. I., asking information in reference to their by-laws. The Committee on By-Laws being ready to report, the by-laws were taken up and with a few alterations endorsed.

From C. Wolf, Corning, N. Y., asking for information as to journey as a member-at-large. Secretary directed to answer.

From D. A. 4 Agitation Committee, asking for speakers for agitation meetings in Newark. Secretary directed to answer.

From Comrade Thos. J. Powers, with a request from L. A. 368, Plymouth, Mass., that the Los Angeles Comrades be notified in reference to an unprincipled individual, an enemy of the industrial movement as carried on by the S. T. & L. A., who now lives in Los Angeles, Cal. Action: Secretary directed to answer and send letter to L. A. 325.

From Organizer Youngjohns, Lowell, Mass., on the good prospects of a healthy movement in Lowell.

Application for charter from Seattle, Wash., for a Plumbers, Steam Fitters and Helpers' L. A.

Action: Charter granted as L. A. 406.

Communication from the California State Executive Committee was received, through the N. E. C., S. L. P., with charges against L. A. 345, San Francisco, for violation of S. T. & L. A. constitution, Article II., paragraph D, in repudiating and denouncing the S. L. P. in San Francisco, and using every method to deter the organization of the S. L. P. in California, assistance not only having been refused to the State Committee of California, but every obstacle placed in the way of organizing a Section in San Francisco. A full line of evidence was presented, with four exhibits, and endorsed and testified to by members-at-large of the S. L. P., California.

Action: Resolved, That L. A. 345, of San Francisco, Cal., be communicated with and requested to answer the charges as set forth by the S. E. C., when action will be taken by this board.

The matter of filling the vacancy caused by the displacement of Wolf Kops was then taken up. Action: Resolved, That a joint meeting of D. A.'s 4 and 49 be called for Sunday, October 18, at 2, 4 and 6 New Reade street, for the purpose of electing a member to the G. E. B. in place of Wolf Kops, whose place was declared vacant on acount of his continual absence.

After routine business had been transacted, meeting adjourned.

John J. Kinneally, G. S.

SECTION MINNEAPOLIS' OFFICERS.

At the regular meeting of the above section held Dec. 1 the following officers were elected for the semi-annual term beginning January 1, 1904: Organizer, Ben Frankford; recording secretary, Henry Edwards; financial secretary, Martin Carlson; treasurer, Martin Overby; literary agent, Peter Riel; grievance committee, Martin Wefald, Martin Carlson, O. P. Wranstadt; auditing committee, Ben Frankford, Martin Wefald and Tom Dougherty; hall trustees, Ben Frankford, Peter Riel and Henry Edwards; sergeant-at-arms, Peter Riel.

Ben Frankfrrd,
Financial Secretary.

OF INTEREST TO KESSLER.

Section Albany, S. L. P., in regular meeting assembled, December 2, passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That August Kessler, of No. 50 Elizabeth street, Albany, N. Y., be asked by registered letter to state upon the floor of Section Albany, S. L. P., where and when Comrade H. Schrader broke up the old Section, and where he (Comrade Schrader) is now breaking up the new Section just organized, as he is reported to have said, by Comrade Ch. Mahr to Organizer James J. Corcoran; or else stand branded as a coward and a backbiter, as a hiding, independent Socialist, which spells "Kangaroo par excellence."

Resolved, That this resolution be published in The Daily and Weekly People.

Despite the reaction against pessimism in the industrial outlook which the capitalist press claim is apparent, wage reductions, suspensions, curtailments and shutdowns continue. After the holiday season spurt is over—what then?

The experiments to determine how cheaply labor can live are being renewed. Why this experimentation? Why, for instance, is no test made to see how cheaply capital can live? Is it a preliminary step coolie downward for the working class?

Workingmen's Mutual Sick and Benevolent Society meets every first and third Wednesday at 501 East Eighty-second street

SKILL AND THE MACHINE.

The Latter Effective in Construction as Well as Production.

That modern production, by means of improved machinery, displaces skilled labor is an established fact. But it is not in manufacture alone that machinery enables the laborer to take the place of the skilled mechanic. It also happens in construction.

The writer watched, the other day, the repairing of a trolley road. The rails of a trolley road are connected with strips of copper. When these strips of copper break through jarring, or, as I was told, burn up, there is a waste of power. And when it is found that there is a waste of electrical energy a man is sent out to discover the break in the copper connections.

What struck my eye first was a man with a box, which hung by a strap around his shoulder. In one hand he held what seemed to me a queer looking rake. This rake was connected by a wire with a box which, as I learned later, is an electrical apparatus. In the other hand he had a pencil and notebook, and some kind of arrangement was attached to his ears. With all these instruments he looked to me a kind of queer looking cuss.

What would this man do, I thought to myself, if he had a few more of those infernal instruments to use at the same time? Where would he hold them, and how? But, then, we have inventors, and Yankee ingenuity will find a way.

I also thought of the wisdom of divine providence. There was a shoulder to hang the box on, two hands—one to hold the rake, the other the notebook—ears, a mouth; all these so nicely adapted to holding these instruments, just as if made to order for the trolley company. The man also reminded me of some musicians that one sees in Europe, who play a dozen instruments at the same time.

Well, this man places the rake on the rail, and in this way finds whether the copper connections are out of order. Then he makes a note and marks the place. This man was followed by four laborers, all of whom were Italians, with the exception of one, who was an Irishman. One of the Italians bossed the job. One of the laborers, with a pickaxe, loosened the ground at the spot of the defective rail. The others removed it to one side. The Irishman then came with a wheelbarrow and removed from it a specially made drill press. The drill was adjusted to the rail and in a few minutes the old connection was removed. This done, the boss took a new copper strip, and, with a few taps with a hammer, had it in position. Another instrument was then put over the rail and with a screw and lever the connection was made tight.

The ground was put back, smoothed down and the job was complete. All this is done neatly and with dispatch. Yet they are all "common laborers." None of them ever learned a trade of any kind. The one who bossed the job could hardly speak a few words of English.

This work, I am told, used to be done by mechanics. But they did not have the tools that these laborers now have. With the introduction of these tools the mechanic is superfluous and a laborer does the job just as good.

Charles Zolot.

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